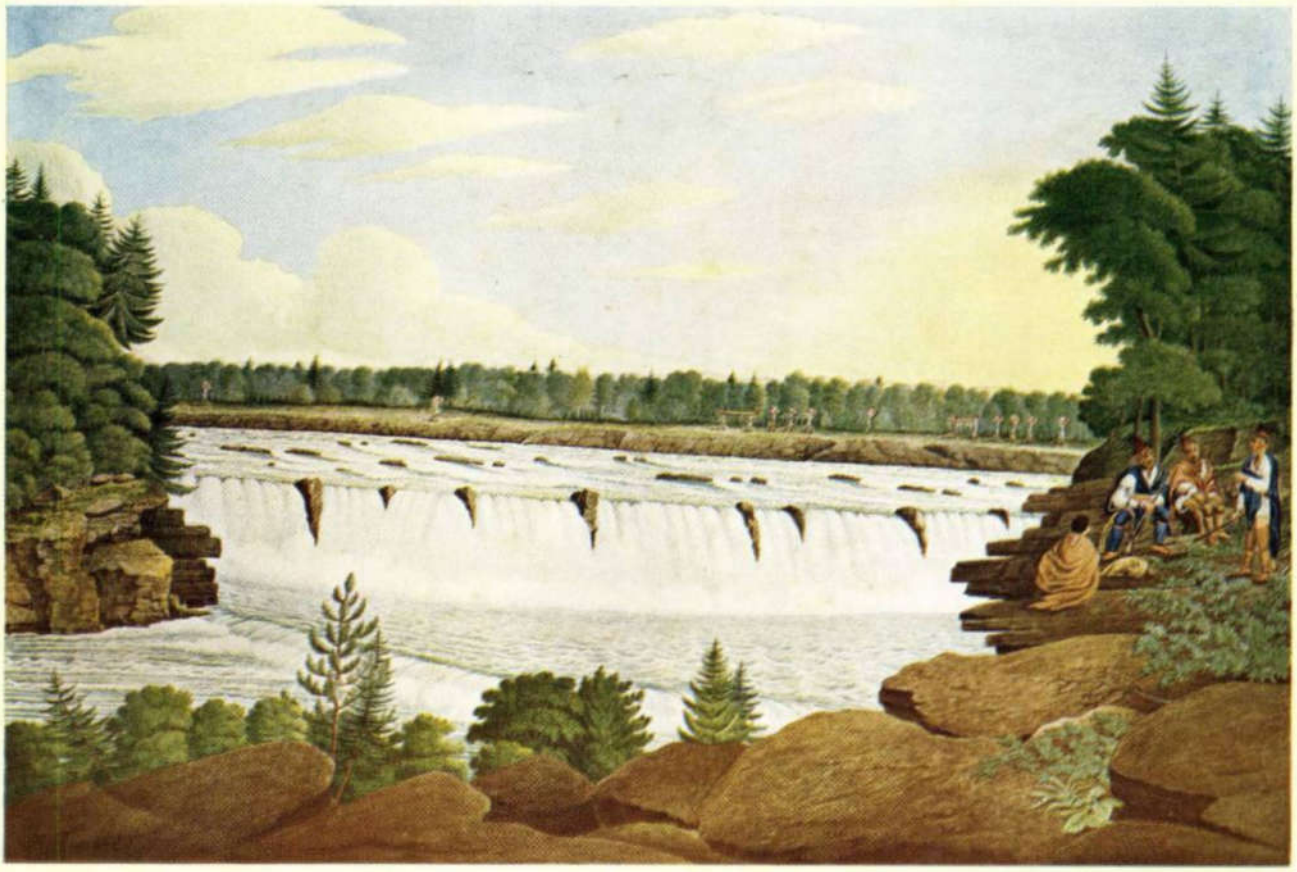
The Beaver

SPRING 1966



View of the Great Falls on the Outaouia River by Thomas Davies.

THE UNCHANGED STANDARD: "choice goods as can be bought for money"

"You are to send us home by every return of our Ships all such goods as are either defective or not acceptable to the Natives, and to inform us wherein they are deficient And also to direct us exactly as you can of what form, quality & conditions every sort of goods wch. is demanded there ought to be for the best satisfaction of the Indians, And wee will do our utmost that you shall be supplied wth. every species of Commodity in perfection."

LETTER TO GOVERNOR NIXON FROM THE GOVERNOR AND COMMITTEE, LONDON, MAY 21, 1680

Hudson's Bay Company

INCORPORATED 2ND MAY 1670

The Beaver

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COVER: *Thomas Davies of the Royal Artillery (later Lieut-General) served in Canada at various times between 1757 and 1790. Among his many drawings of Canadian scenes were a number of views along the Ottawa Valley. This water-colour is reproduced by courtesy of the National Gallery of Canada.*

PHOTO BY JOHN EVANS

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HUDSON'S BAY HOUSE

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The Hudson's Bay Company in the Ottawa Valley

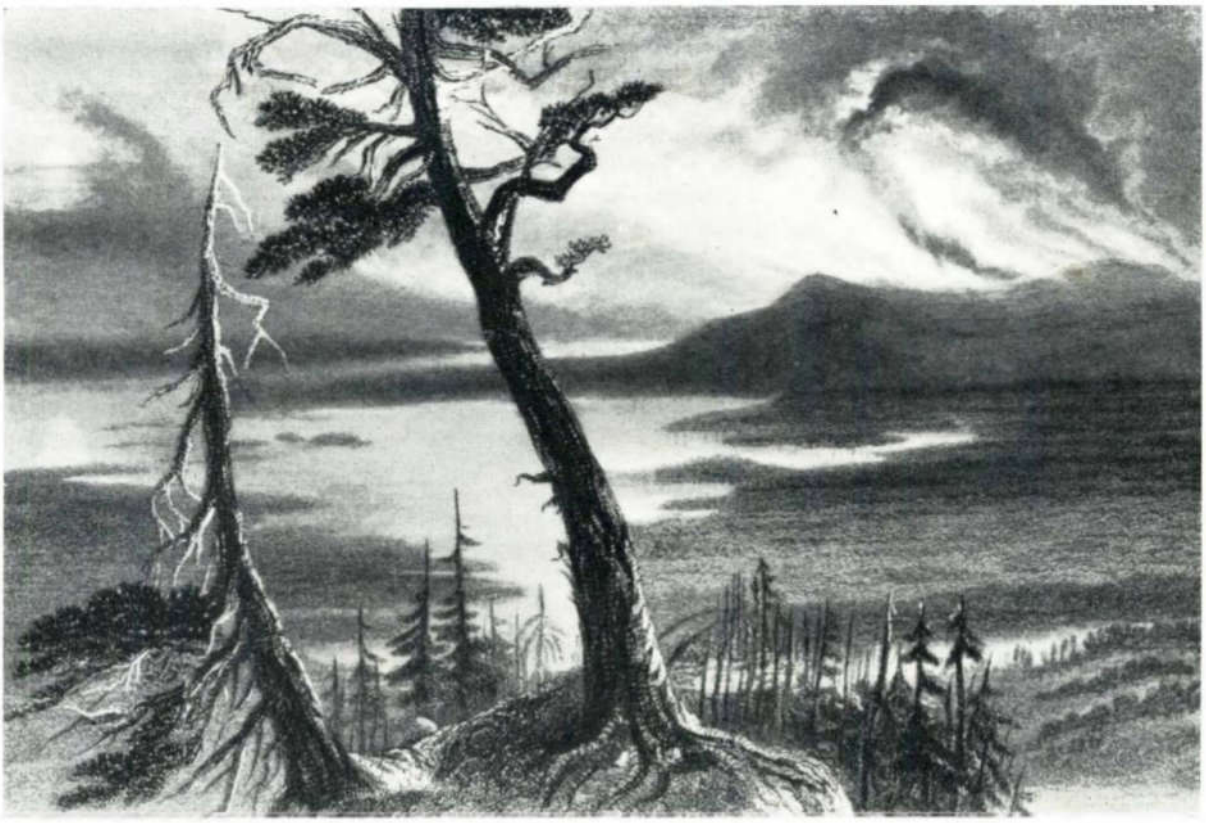
BY C. C. J. BOND

Quotations from documents in its archives are made by kind permission of the Governor and Committee of the Hudson's Bay Company and assistance of the archivist, Miss Alice Johnson, in the preparation of this article is gratefully acknowledged. Major Bond, formerly in the Historical Section of the Canadian Army, is historian to the National Capital Commission of Canada.

THE COALITION IN 1821 of the North West Company and the Hudson's Bay Company, the two great rivals in the fur trade of British North America, introduced relative peace and order into the haunts of the beaver where the chaotic competition of giants had reigned. The new Hudson's Bay Company that resulted from the merger would directly administer Rupert's Land (i.e. the lands drained by rivers flowing into Hudson Bay) and the territories lying west of Rupert's Land as far as the Pacific. Two administrative units, each under a governor, were organized: the northern department's governor was based at York Factory and looked after the territories from the Pacific Ocean eastward to Rainy Lake and the Severn River; the governor of the southern department was based at Moose Factory and his territory consisted of the northern shores of Lakes Superior and Huron, the James Bay area and some posts in Upper and Lower Canada. The business of the remaining posts was conducted for the Company by McGillivrays, Thain & Company in Montreal. This firm directed the posts on the Ottawa River with the exception of Timiskaming House on Lake Timiskaming, which was administered by the governor of the southern department at Moose Factory.

The Ottawa River rises in the Canadian Shield about 150 miles north of Canada's Capital. It follows a devious course westwards through bodies of water for 150 miles then, entering long and narrow Lake Timiskaming, it changes direction abruptly to southwards, eventually flowing south-eastward, eastward and, for a distance, east-north-eastward until it passes by four channels into the Saint Lawrence near Montreal. The Ottawa is over 700 miles long and drops some 1200 feet from its source to its mouth. From Mattawa it flows down a great valley that once carried the ice-melt waters of Lake Algonquin, lying south of the Great Ice Cap, into an arm of the Champlain Sea that covered the sites of Ottawa and Montreal. Following that old channel up the Mattawa, the early voyageur was able to enter Lake Nipissing and descend by the French River into Georgian Bay and thence attain the great North-West.

By 1660 Champlain's Grande rivière des Algommequins was becoming the rivière des Outaouacs or Outaouais, named after the tribe of traders that moved into the valley on the heels of the Algonkins who had been chased off by the Iroquois. A 1661 note in the archives of Charente Inférieure in France names Médard des Groseillers as "*général de la flotte des Ottaouais.*" Highway of missionary and explorer, trunk route of the fur brigades, the waters of the Grand River of the Ottawas between Lac des Deux Montagnes and the Mattawa were ploughed year after year by the *canots de maître* and the



The Lac des Allumettes by W. H. Bartlett, from an engraving published in 1842. PUBLIC ARCHIVES

river shores resounded to the voyageurs' songs—when they had breath left to sing.

In its southward and eastward course there are several features about the Ottawa that distinguish it from other rivers. About Longitude 77° its channel divides twice to pass on either side of two great islands. These bear names that sound similar, but are quite different. Allumette Island and nearby Allumette Lake are named for the reeds that grow thereabout, used by the Indian for spills and tapers (fr. *allumette*). Calumet Island is named for their tobacco pipes made of stone quarried in the vicinity. The normal canoe route passed south of Allumette Island and north of Calumet Island.

Farther downstream, another series of features mark the Ottawa: here and there ledges of sedimentary or igneous rock break its course, and the river tumbles through, in various channels. The first of these falls below Calumet Island is that once known as the Sault des Chats Sauvages. (In French Canada *chat sauvage* has long been the popular name for the raccoon; the cascade is named after the raccoons that once teemed there. Some authorities say the falls were named for wildcats, but the fur traders said it was the raccoons.) Above extends Chats Lake.

Below the Chats (pronounced *shah*) Lac des Chênes (now written Deschênes), named for the oaks that once lined its shores, stretches some thirty miles to the des Chênes rapids. Here for four miles the flow is broken by intermittent rapids that terminate at another rocky outcrop like the Chats, with more islands. At this spot, before the dam was built (almost all the cataracts of the Ottawa are now tamed) the main channel fell furiously into a cauldron-like basin that by its assumed likeness to a pot earned the fall its name, *la chaudière*. Below the Chaudière for a few miles the south shore is lined with frowning limestone cliffs. Two miles downriver a watercourse from the south, once a route used by marauding Iroquois, tumbles in two channels over the cliff. In those days when its flow was ample—even as late as 1870—its appearance as it fell over the level limestone lip justified the name Rideau (curtain) given it. Opposite and a little lower down, the fierce Gatineau, named for an early trader, joins its current to the main stream.

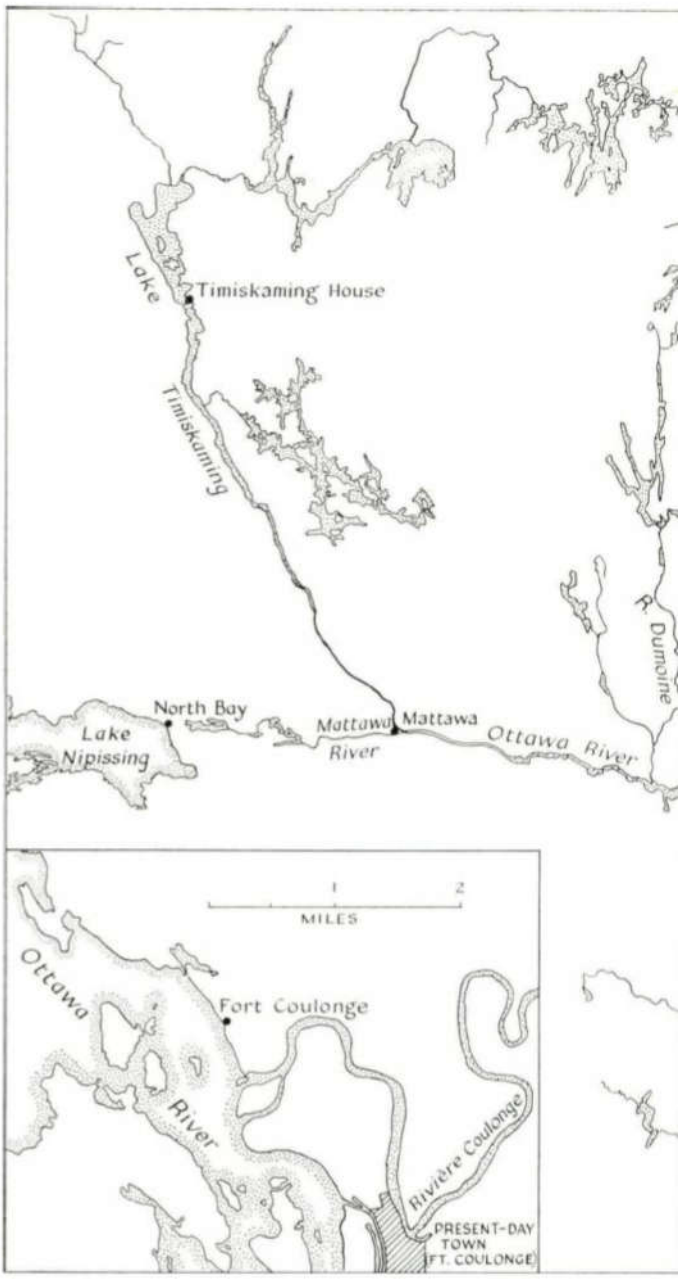
Below the Chaudière the Ottawa flows sluggishly through glacial drifts, its banks clay, its channels bisected by sandy tree-covered islands and its shores cut by marshy bayous. Sixty miles eastward another rocky ledge marked another cascade, the first of a group of rapids

that extended for fifteen miles, called collectively the Long Sault. Along its shores Dollard des Ormeaux and his small band in 1660 faced a huge war-party of Iroquois and gave their lives to save Montreal and here, some time later, the fur trader Radisson came upon the bloody, burnt traces of the struggle.

Below the Long Sault extends Lac des Deux Montagnes, overlooked by two mountains near Oka. This lake drains by two channels of the Ottawa around Ile Perrot, by the Rivière des Prairies around Montreal Island, and by the Rivière des Mille Iles around Ile Jésus.

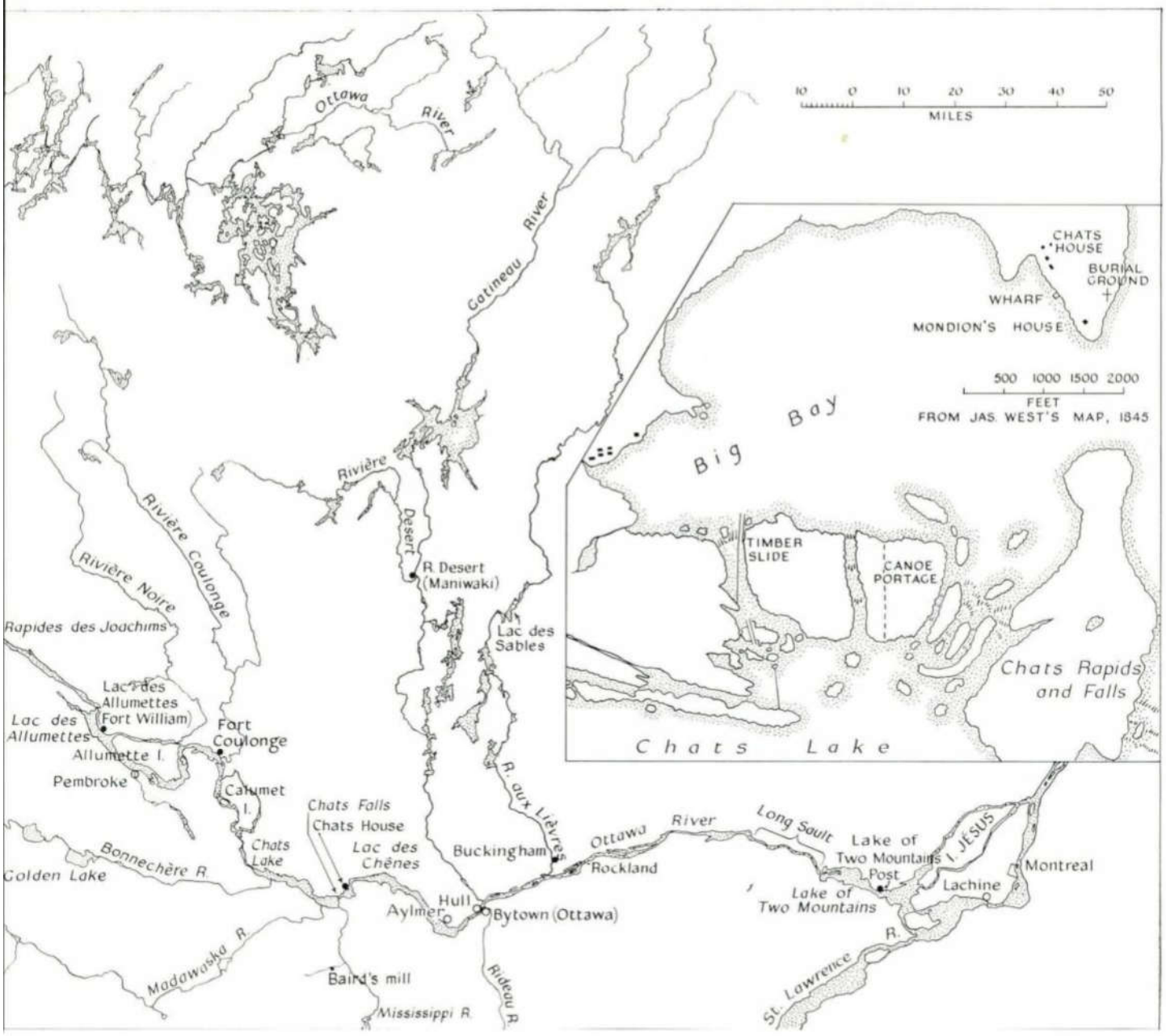
Along this river highway that led to the west a few men set up posts to trade for furs. Nicolas d'Ailleboust de Manthet, a member of that illustrious family of Quebec the d'Ailleboust, one of whom had bought the seigneury of Bois-de-Coulonge (now Spencerwood, home of Quebec's lieutenant-governor), spent the winter of 1694-95 on the Ottawa, just north of Calumet Island. The name of the family seigneury was given to the post and the nearby river. This Fort Coulonge is said to have been used by the d'Ailleboust family as a trading post for years. Alexander Henry, writing of a journey in 1761 just after the capitulation of Montreal, mentioned a trading fort or house that stood near the Coulonge River, surrounded by a stockade. He saw other forts up and down the river. Below, at a site which appears to have been at or near present-day Rockland on the south shore, there was one. (The north shore, almost invariably preferred for trading posts, was out of the question here, being too low and swampy.) This post was also surrounded by a stockade, and attached was a small garden from which Henry helped himself to some vegetables. On the north shore of Lac des Deux Montagnes, where present-day Oka stands, Henry had noticed the Indian mission of the Seminary of Saint Sulpice from Montreal, with its two neighbouring Indian villages.

The influx of English-speaking settlers into Canada that began in earnest in 1783 with the Loyalists, largely avoided the Ottawa. One lone man, a French Canadian from Vaudreuil named Joseph Mondion, brought his family high up the river in 1786 and settled on a point on the north shore just below the Chats. Farther down, just above the Long Sault, Nathaniel Treadwell had established his first settlers on the old seigneury of L'Orignal in 1798 and two years later another American, Philemon Wright, moved a group up to settle by the Chaudière. The main attraction for Wright was arable land, no doubt, but there was another crop in the Ottawa valley, an incredibly rich one: the timber. The finest and biggest stands of red and white pine in British North America grew on the Ottawa watershed.



Settlement came late indeed to the Ottawa valley, but it had extended to the Chats Falls by the time the Hudson's Bay Company became interested in the fur trade along the river. The interests of the timber cutters and the Company were going to intermesh and, on occasion, to clash. As the forests came down, the farmers moved in and the fur-bearing animals withdrew to the north and west.

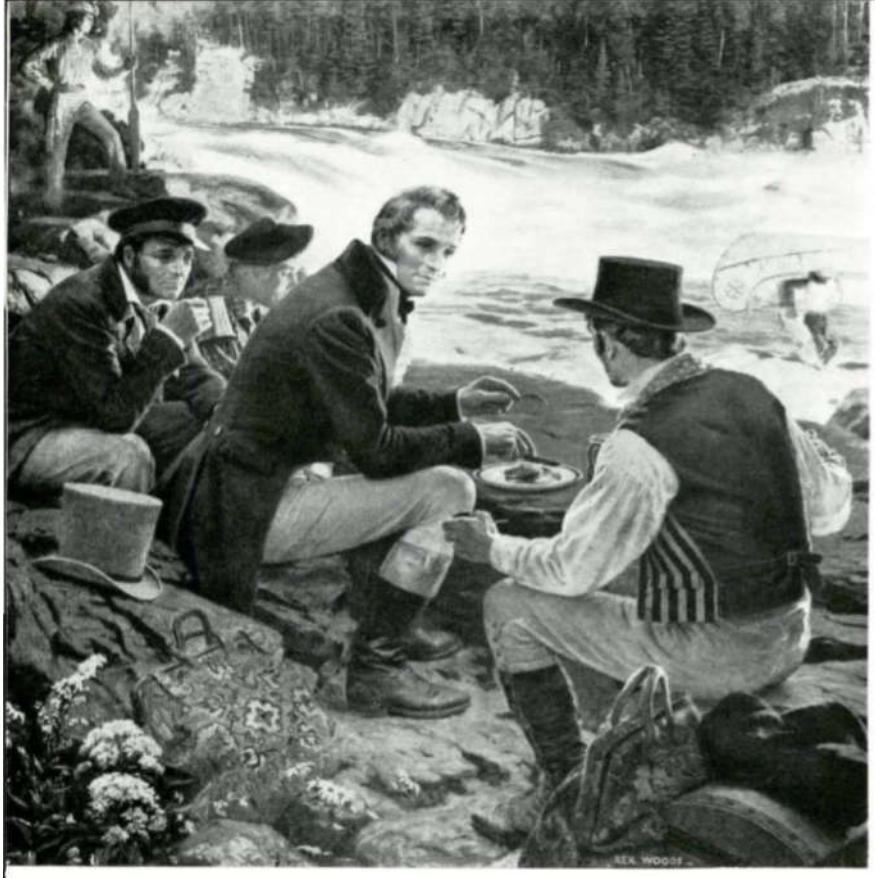
Late in 1814 the Company first arranged to have an agency in Montreal. The following year a brigade carrying supplies, organized by Colin Robertson, was sent inland up the Ottawa River.



Map by C. C. J. Bond

In 1821 when the Ottawa River posts (Lake of Two Mountains, the Chats, Fort Coulonge, and Lac des Sables, the latter on the Rivière aux Lièvres) came under the control of the Hudson's Bay Company* their situation rendered them unsuitable for outfitting from Southern Department headquarters at Moose. Accordingly it was arranged that the trade should be conducted by agents in Montreal, namely Messrs William and Simon McGillivray and Thomas Thain. Lake of Two Mountains was at present-day Oka, adjacent to the Algonkin and Iroquois villages that sprawled beside the seventeenth-century mission of Saint-Sulpice. John McLean, who has left a vivid record of these early days in his *Notes on Twenty-Five Years' Service* . . . arrived at Lake of Two Mountains in 1821 to serve as a clerk in a post under Alexander Fisher, who had been with the North West Company. McLean states that the Nor'Westers had established a post here in 1819, but there is no evidence to corroborate this statement in a list of their posts compiled in 1821. H B C records show that Thomas Thain bought from Ignace Le Maire St Germain, a noted fur-trader, a house and lease of land there in April 1820, paying 8,000 livres, or £300 sterling. The following year a second lot was bought and in 1823 payment was

*The Hudson's Bay Company's Southern Department took over Timiskaming House (established about 1795 on the lake of that name) from the North West Company in 1821. The post was detached from the Southern Department in 1823.



Nicholas Garry and Simon McGillivray (wearing spectacles) have a meal at a portage in the course of their journey by canoe in 1821 from Lachine to Fort Garry. From a painting by Rex Woods.

Falls of the Calumet, as shown in "Picturesque Canada" published 1882.

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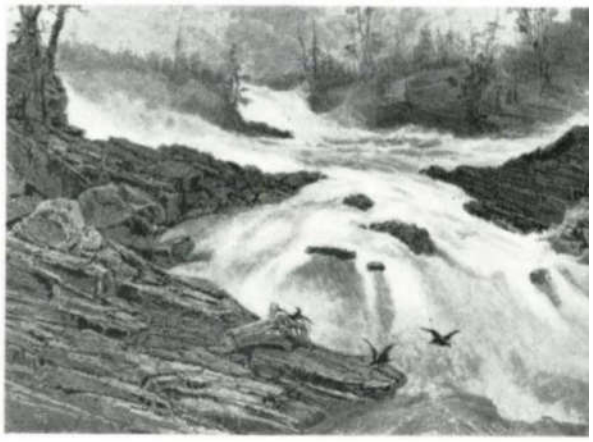


made for the construction of a 40 foot by 24 foot store.

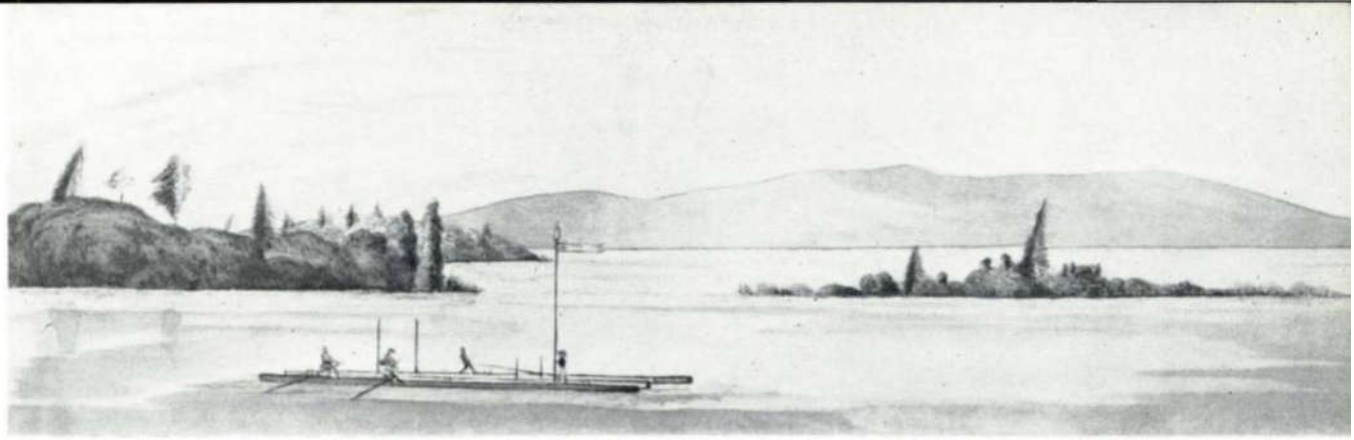
McLean wrote of the Indians at Lake of Two Mountains (they still live in their houses on either side of the old post in Oka), that the Iroquois "cultivate the soil, and engage as voyageurs, or in any other capacity that may yield them the means of subsistence". He found them to be a hardy, industrious race, but still full of their old ferocity. The Algonkins were hunters. A number of petty traders were located near the post and competition was keen; agents flocked to the river-side as soon as a hunter's canoe came in sight. The arrivals would continue over a period of six weeks and during this time the post would be bedlam with ". . . the howling of two or three hundred dogs, the tinkling of bells with which the horses the Indians rode were ornamented, the bawling of the squaws when beaten by their drunken husbands, and the yelling of the savages themselves when in that beastly state. . . ."

Thanks to the Mission de Saint-Sulpice the Indians at Lake of Two Mountains were landholders. In effect, they were not permitted to own land but were merely given the use of it within certain rigid bounds. After receiving their grant, they were encouraged to sow grain. Any Indian who left the mission to live at any other post where there was no missionary, would lose right to his lands and meadows if he did not return the third year at sowing time. There were discriminations against apostates. Any Indian harvesting more than he needed for his family could not use his profit to buy the use of more land. Any trader paying an Indian in drink voided his contract. The Algonkin hunters associated with the Iroquois after Mass on Sundays, when they played at ball or running foot races. The summer was one long carouse. Before it was over and the hunters left for the forest the improvident 'savages' would have spent all their money and they would depart in debt to the traders.

The petty traders were quickly forced out of business. What with the debts and gifts of food to the Indians the Company found from the beginning that little if any profit was to be made at Lake of Two Mountains. But the post was kept open as a "Barrier to the Districts of the Interior," where profits were made and from which it was desired to exclude the Canadian traders.

Life on the point just downstream from the Chats Falls must have palled for Joseph Mondion, for he sold out to Montreal merchants in 1800. The property later passed to the North West Company. H B C men had been at the post in 1810 and 1812; James Tate in 1810 felt when he saw the lights of farm houses along Lac des Chats that he "had got amongst a civilized people once more".

Even in 1812 when John McNab was there on his way to Montreal, by sleigh and snowshoe, there was a winter road for oxen hauling provisions from the Chats to a group of men "called a shanty" felling timber for the Quebec markets. At Mr Cameron's farm on the lake where he grew wheat, corn and potatoes there was a



Near the confluence of the Ottawa and St. Lawrence rivers, looking west towards Lake of Two Mountains, from a sketch made in 1839 by Colonel H. F. Ainsley.

PUBLIC ARCHIVES

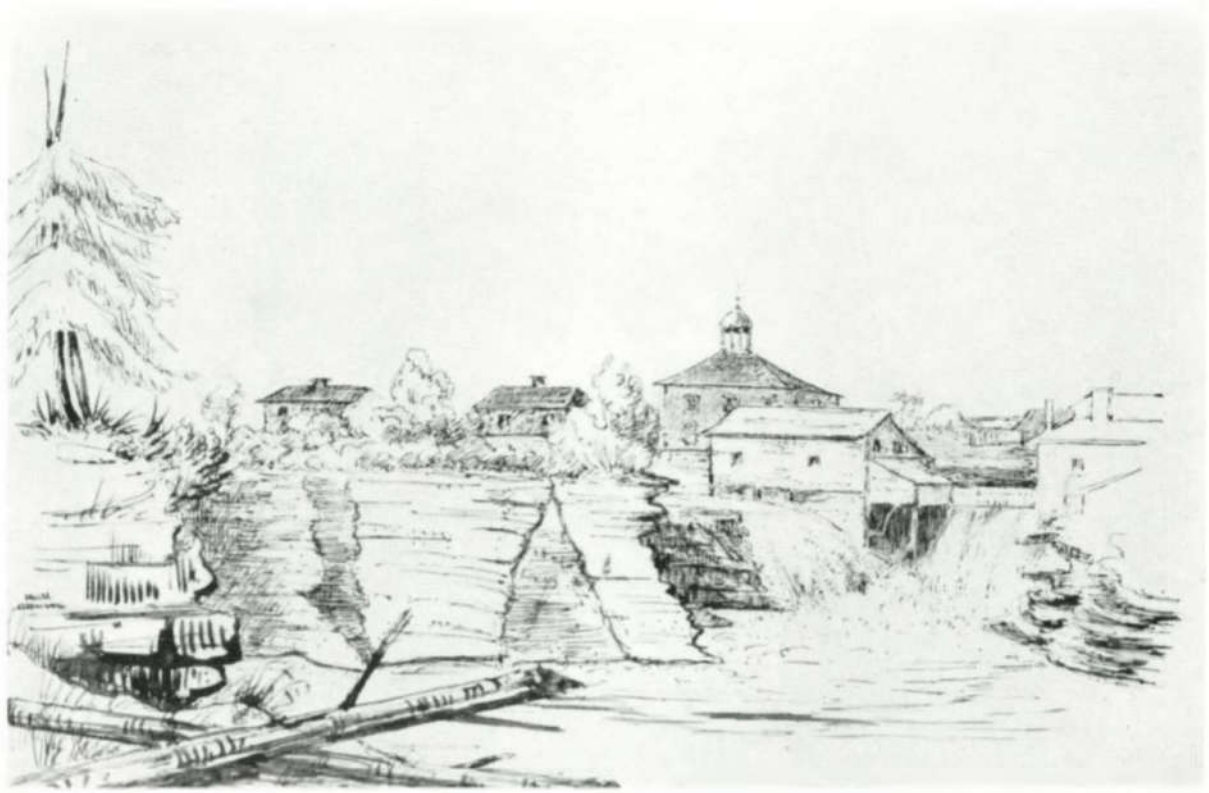
considerable amount of stock; cattle, hogs, poultry, horses. There was, above all, Mrs Cameron "a lady of sentiment and delicacy, a solace in our situation particularly pleasing. . . ." Cameron also kept a store of articles for Indian trade; for one beaver skin that he carefully weighed at 1¾ pounds he traded maple sugar and hogs lard. It was probably here that Nicholas Garry on his voyage westward in June 1821 landed to pay his respects to John Hodgson, a retired chief factor of Albany Fort living "in great Poverty". In August another man, Roussin, was ordered by the Company to go to the Chats from Lake of Two Mountains; the site was considered a commanding one and competitors were on the way there. John McLean came up briefly in the spring of 1822, establishing a post on one of the islands at the cascade beside the portage and went back to Oka in June. In the autumn he returned to the Chats and started business. Soon petty competitors were going past upcountry and McLean was forced to send parties after them to seek the trade of the Indians. The Chats was considered as subject to Lake of Two Mountains.

In late June 1823 McLean was sent farther upriver, to Fort Coulonge, where he replaced Joseph Godin, a former employee of the North West Company who had represented the Hudson's Bay Company there since 1821. McLean wrote of his arrival, ". . . a portly old gentleman, bearing a paunch that would have done credit to an Edinburgh baillie, came puffing down to the landing-place to receive us. We soon discovered that Mr. Godin was only 'nominally' in charge of the establishment, for that his daughter, a stout, masculine-looking wench, full thirty summers blown, possessed what little authority was required for the management of affairs." In September McLean was relieved by John Siveright, but remained in charge of the post during successive summers when Siveright went to Montreal with furs. The new bourgeois found Fort Coulonge a lonely place "where nothing of the least interest occurs to afford subject for letter writing". Competition on the river was keen. Siveright sent McLean in the autumn to establish an outpost on the north shore of Allumette Island beyond the Rivière Noire. Driven by the aggressions of opposition traders, McLean later in 1823 went farther upriver and established another outpost at Lac des Allumettes. By 1825 this wide-awake young business man had established a third outpost, at the Bonnechère River.

All the movement of goods that this trade entailed required some means of carriage. For years fur trade transportation on the Ottawa, was largely dependent on the Indian-made *canot de maître* or Montreal canoe. Six fathoms (thirty-six feet) long, this light birch-bark craft carried, in addition to its crew and passengers and their gear, seventy packages of ninety pounds weight each, over three tons of pay-load. Its frame consisted of little more than the gunwales and the bow and stern pieces and was ingeniously made of hardwood held together with bindings of tree fibre or rawhide. The skin was of birch-bark, sewn together with *wattape* or split spruce-root, stiffened with wooden ribs, and the seams were water-proofed with spruce-gum.

Dugald MacTavish described the Montreal canoe as commonly crewed by sixteen men and John McLean wrote of three with which he travelled in 1833 that were manned by sixty Iroquois and Canadians. Ten to fourteen voyageurs was the usual crew of the Montreal canoe. Each flotilla or brigade was directed by a guide who messed with the gentlemen. His canoe took the post of honour in rapid water. Elsewhere the lead was taken by the best-going canoe. The slowest craft, that always ran last, was known as the "harse" or "harrow". The steersman kept the canoe on course with his great paddle. The bowsman was responsible for the care of the vessel, repairing it and pitching the seams. Each night when it was unloaded, the packages piled above high-water mark and covered with oilcloth, the bowsman directed the carrying of the canoe to a safe place. In the morning the guide roused the men. John McLean wrote that the moment the call "Lève! Lève!" was heard the passengers sprang on their feet and tied up their beds. If they didn't the tent would go down about their ears.

At a fall or rapids the rhythm of paddling would be broken. Descending a river it would be possible to run



Philemon Wright's mill at the Chaudiere, drawn about 1820 by Reed. McCord Museum, McGill University

some of the rapids. Going up there was no choice. In the most gentle of rapids, if the water was the right depth, it would be possible to proceed by poling. Faster water would call for the canoe to be lightened of part or all its load (déchargé) and either tracked through the rapids (pulled with a line by the crew on shore) or manhandled by the crew walking in the water. At the steep chutes and falls both canoe and cargo would be carried on the portage path.

On the Ottawa there were many portages before the mouth of the Mattawa was reached. Beyond Lake of Two Mountains the river-men had to face a series of portages up the Long Sault, which began at the Carillon Rapids and included the picturesquely named Chute à Blondeau. Arrived at the Chaudière the voyageurs carried past the main cataract and paddled *à dêmi-charge* for a short distance and had another portage at the Little Chaudière. (The main falls and north shore where the portage lay are shown in the cover picture).

Above the Little Chaudière Rapids the barrier of the Remic Rapids (named after Isaac Remic, an early settler) was surmounted by poling near the north shore. The completion of the road from Hull to Aylmer by Philemon Wright in 1820 made possible the haulage of loads by wagon past all these obstacles. A portage was required at Rapides des Chênes.

At the Chats there was a single, rather precipitous carry. Farther above was the Portage du Fort, the Grand Calumet which was the longest portage on the river, the des Joachims, and many another before the Mattawa was reached.

The fur trade was dependent on the Indian to pursue the wild animals in their haunts, kill them and take the skins. John McLean tells of one method of catching beaver. The hunter would leave his lodge at dawn, accompanied by his dogs. A beaver lodge once encountered, the Indian would set to work to demolish it, and after a time the dogs would sniff the location of the creatures. If he could, the hunter would seize his prey by the tail, pull it out on the ice and dispatch it with spear or knife. Other sources indicate how larger groups caught the beaver. The men would cut holes in the ice around the lodge as quietly as possible and ring the structure with nets. The women would then demolish the beavers' home and the creatures, swimming out, would be caught in the meshes. Those that escaped to bank-holes would be detected by dogs and pulled out. In streams a palisade of stakes would be placed across the waterway and the beaver would be driven against the barricade by tapping on the ice.

It is clear from the writings of David Thompson, however, that the steel trap was being widely used to

capture beaver early in the nineteenth century. Quite successfully used in catching foxes, the trap could not be utilized in the chase of the beaver at first. It was a matter of discovering the right bait. Everything imaginable was tried without success. Finally an attempt was made to catch male beaver by using the castoreum (a secretion contained in the scent glands) of the female, beaten up with green aspen buds. Surprisingly, this caught both males and females. Thompson wrote that soon every Indian secured from the traders four to six steel traps, each weighing six to eight pounds. The catch went up, and soon the beaver in a hunter's locality were exterminated.

The skins, once cured, were tied into packs and brought to the trader. Some hunters brought in great quantities. McLean wrote of travelling for eleven days through the woods from Lac des Allumettes post to meet an Indian who was coming from the Rice Lake country 150 miles away. This man had eleven packs of beaver and some other furs, the whole worth at least £600. At the trading post a certain etiquette was observed. If the Indian went into the store and put his bundles down inside it meant he intended to trade at that store only. If, on the other hand, he put his bundles down outside the door, it indicated that he intended to trade with the nearby rival also. It was customary for the trader himself as soon as a customer arrived, to provide a pipe, a plug of tobacco and a "dram".

The early settlers on the river sent their timber, boards, and staves down to market in the form of rafts, and sometimes carried barrels of valuable potash aboard such craft. Their supplies usually came up from Montreal by sleigh in winter, but the bateau was also used. In the summer of 1823 the first steamboat, the *Union of the Ottawa*, was put into service between the head of the Long Sault and Wright's settlement at the Chaudière. The Age of Steam was beginning.

In late December 1825 McGillivrays, Thain & Company were bankrupt. The supervision of the posts on the Ottawa was transferred to George Simpson in 1826, who in that year became governor of both the northern and southern departments. The energetic governor, who took up residence in Lachine for a time, hoped to do away with canoe transport as an economy measure, proposing to supply the posts in winter by sleighs from Montreal. Reporting to the Committee, he wrote of canoe transport on the Ottawa: "I am anxious to reduce it as much as possible in all other parts connected with Montreal as the

Hudson's Bay canoes at Chats Falls, 1838, painted by P. J. Bainbrigge. The men on the left are at the foot of the steep portage trail.

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trouble and expence of employing Pork Eaters, building canoes, collecting Agrêts [*agrès*, canoe equipment] and other charges attending the usual mode of transport has always been a heavy drawback on the business, requiring constant outlays of money, employing a great variety of Tradesmen & Servants and altogether a most troublesome and expensive branch of the business." The abandonment of canoes did not wholly take place, however. (John McLean wrote of travelling in 1833 with a brigade of canoes that were carrying tobacco to Timiskaming House.) McLean was sent in August 1826, to Lac des Sables on the left bank of the Rivière aux Lièvres about fifty miles up. He found there a comfortable dwelling-house and a large, well-established farm. McLean conducted the Lac des Sables post until 1833 when he was sent by the Company to New Caledonia (interior British Columbia).

A revolution in transportation on the Ottawa River was begun in 1826 when Lieutenant-Colonel John By, Royal Engineers, arrived at the Chaudière to commence a canal to Kingston via the Rideau River. Soon a flourishing village called Bytown sprang up on the lands above the brooding cliffs, a community that would in a few decades change its name to Ottawa. Another group of military engineers started work on a canal system to take vessels past the fifteen-mile stretch of the Long Sault. In 1832, the year the canals were opened, a steamboat, the *Lady Colborne*, started running on Lake des Chênes. It was now possible for a steamer to go from the north side of Montreal Island on Lake of Two Mountains to the Chaudière. Goods could be carried to Aylmer by road, thence by the *Lady Colborne* to the Chats.

Old buildings at Fort Coulonge; foundation of H B C store in foreground.

C. C. J. Bond

(It is interesting to note that Sir George Simpson in 1849 became a partner in the Ottawa Steamer Company operated by R. W. Shepherd. He lent money to build the S.S. *Lady Simpson* and other boats for this concern, which became dominant on the river. Meetings of the company were held in Simpson's home, Hudson's Bay House, Lachine.)

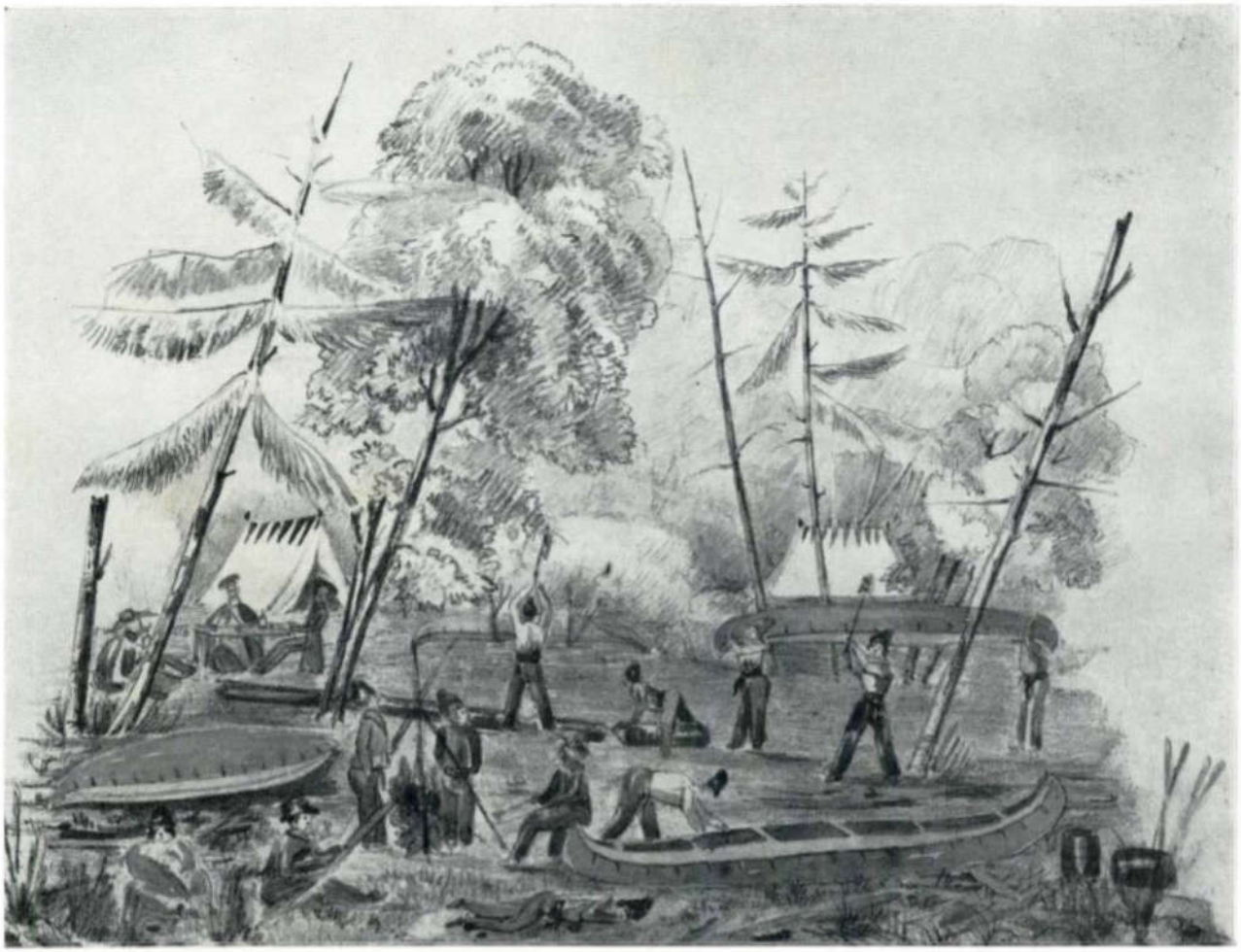
The post at Lake of Two Mountains, despite Governor Simpson's efforts at economy, continued to be unprofitable. In 1826 he discharged six servants and "three very expensive useless and dissipated clerks" and divided the duties among the remainder.

Trade had also fallen off at Fort Coulonge where besides impoverishment of the country and the existence of four opposition establishments, according to Simpson, "every Lumber Contractor and Labourer is a Trader". However, under Siveright's direction a farm had been developed, where pease, oats and barley were grown and cattle were raised, and in 1827 the carpenter Jean-B. St Denis erected some new buildings including a store. The next year a store and other buildings were erected at Lac des Allumettes.

The same year, 1828, a group of new buildings was started at the Chats where Charles Thomas was the clerk in charge. In the store Mr Thomas, according to Joseph Bouchette, kept a stock of the articles most in demand such as broad cloths, blankets, beads, ammunition, spirits, etc.

Governor Simpson had in mind making the Chats an important trading establishment, as he wrote to Chief Trader Alexander Fisher who was in charge of the Ottawa River posts. And he gave detailed instructions for the new buildings for which the Fort Coulonge carpenter St Denis, with his tool box, men, and equipment, including a pair of oxen, were to be sent down. The foundations were to be raised 5 feet as a precaution against floods, the dwelling houses was to be about 60 by 30 feet, the store large enough to house 200 to 300 pieces of goods with a sale shop adjoining. There was also to be a stable for 30 horses and a cow-house for 8 or 10 cattle. Progress was slow. The timber had not been squared in the spring and by June it was hard to work for "the flies are so numerous that a man can hardly resist a few minutes at a time". It was not till late in the season that oxen, carpenter and tools could be spared from Coulonge and then the work could not be started for lack of a mason to make the stone foundations. By September the men were at work, timber was on the spot, and two corner foundations were 5 feet high.

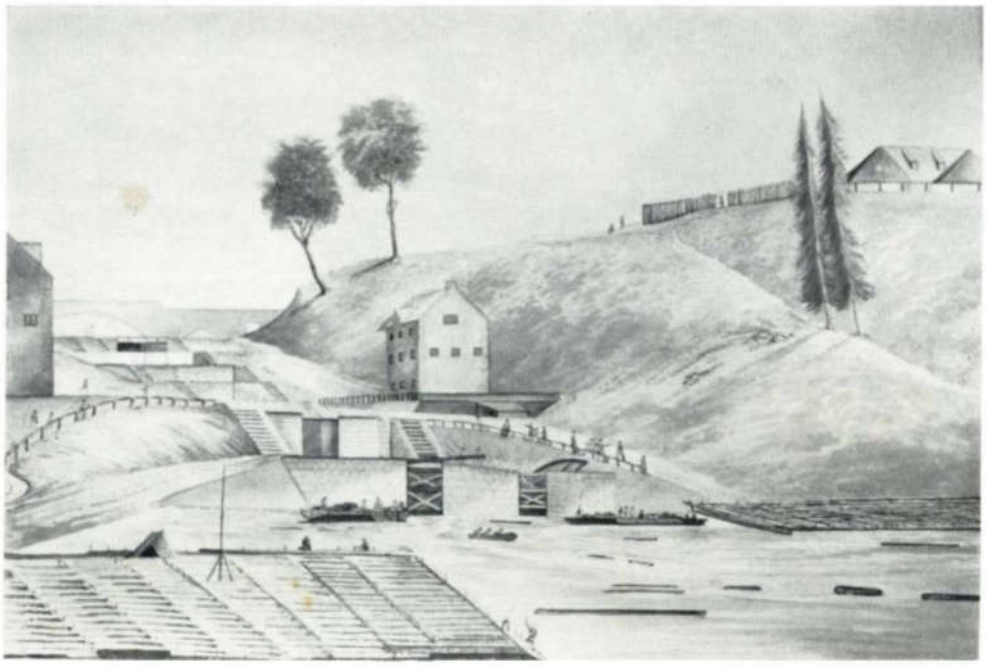
In October Chief Trader Cuthbert Cumming arrived to take charge of the Chats post. Building progress was



McCord Museum, McGill University

"First Camp", a water-colour by Colonel John By who set up his headquarters near the junction of the Rideau and Ottawa rivers in 1826 preparatory to building the Rideau canal.

The locks at Bytown were finished in 1832 and seven years later Col H. F. Ainsley made this drawing of them from the Ottawa River where rafts of timber are floating. The hill on the right is now crowned with the Parliament Buildings.



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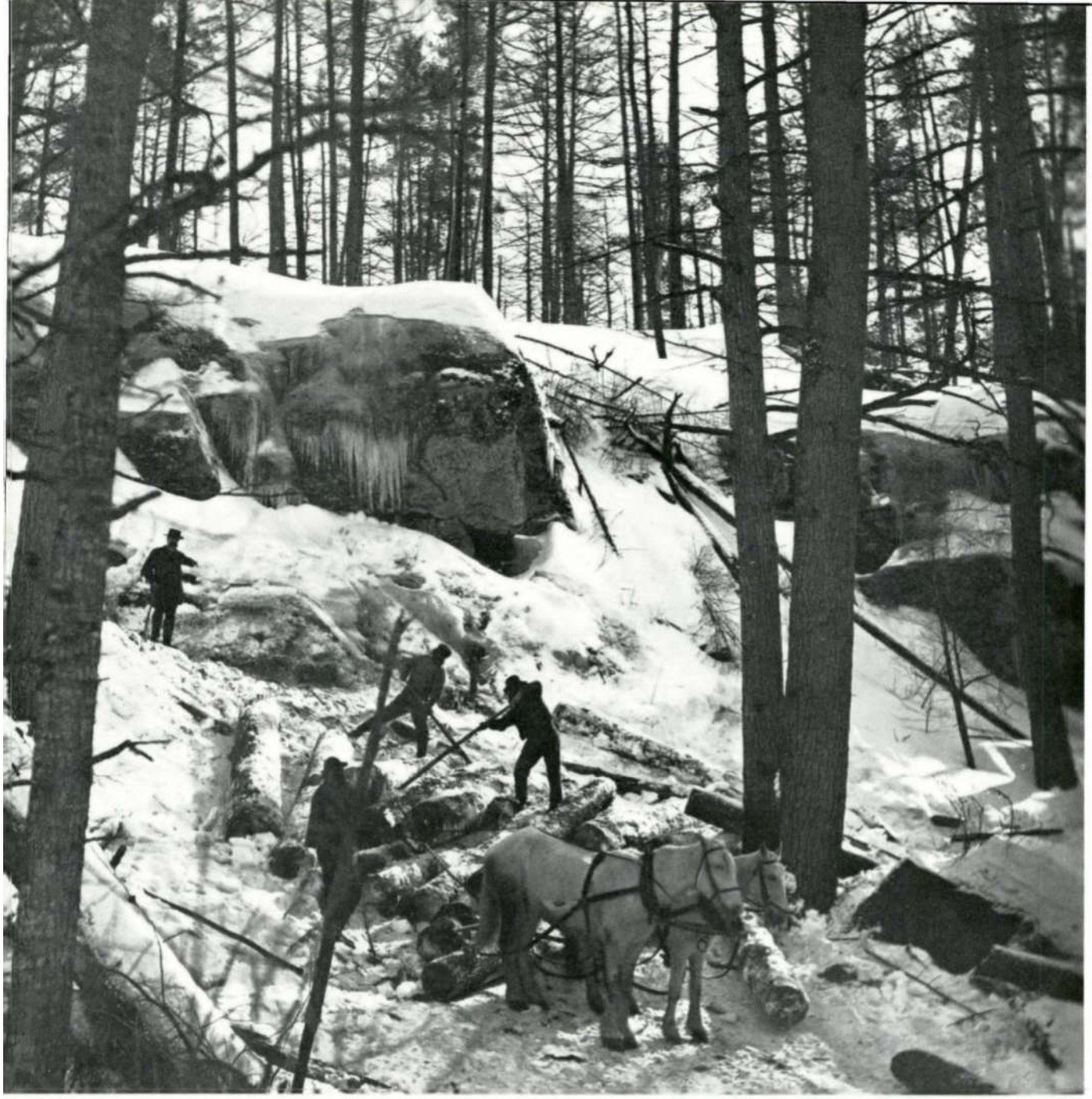


Hauling timber in Ottawa valley lumbering operations, 1871. NOTMAN ARCHIVES, McCORD MUSEUM, McGILL UNIVERSITY

still slow but by the end of the month the house, on its high foundation, was being covered with planks. Part of the delay had been caused by the men for in November Cumming lamented "... they are with one or two exceptions, the most inefficient set of men I have ever known, & no consideration but necessity could induce me to retain such dissipated and depraved characters in the Service".

In December, with the house of "this unfortunate place" still not ready for occupation, Cumming wrote about the poor business and high prices at the Chats: "... Provisions, Grain &c. is remarkably dear in this vicinity, and at the same time scarce, the great demand for these articles by Chentier [shanty] men has enhanced their value beyond example, Indian corn & pease being 5/- pr. Bus. cash, oats 2/- flour course pr. Bbl. 60/- Pork lean and not salted from 11 to 12 dollars per Bb & every thing else dear in proportion.

"There is nothing doing here at present. This last week's shop seals [sales] 2/- the preceding week 4/- No

doubt we must impute such triffeling sales to the interuption occasioned by bad roads &c. to passants".

It is clear that the location of the new buildings was on Mondion's Point and that the Company post had been there for some years. Today on the Point there exists an old foundation of stone, which marks the site of the Mondion house. The new buildings were farther north, where cottages now stand. The soil is very thin thereabouts, lying on a rocky base. A few hundred yards downriver, according to a map of 1845, there was an Indian burial ground, the usual concomitant of a fur-trading post. Farther upriver at the old posts the graveyards are marked with a large cross. Here there are no farm houses nearby and the graveyard is forgotten.

Late in 1828 John Siveright at Fort Coulonge established an outpost at the mouth of the Mattawa River to head off a rival trader "from getting a footing with the Indians".

From this time Governor Simpson began to press for the closing down of Lake of Two Mountains, where business continued to fall off. In May, 1830, when he arrived at the post with his young bride *en route* to York Factory, they were saluted by the firing of cannon by the Indians and the daughter of a chief presented Mrs Simpson with a bouquet of cherry blossoms. Simpson in 1835 again established his headquarters at Lachine, where the Montreal Department had been managed since '26. In 1835 an epidemic of cholera decimated the Indians of Oka and Chief Factor James McMillan who was then in charge saw little reason for maintaining the post except to keep other traders away. Two years later, in November 1837, rebels under Amory Girod tried to seize the cannon, one belonging to the Company and the other to the Algonkins, at Lake of Two Mountains but were outwitted. The post lingered on.

Chief Factor John George McTavish made the headquarters of his Lake of Two Mountains District at the Chats in 1836, but moved the next year to the post at Lake of Two Mountains. Trade at the Chats also had been falling off. The shantymen and settlers were dealing in furs, the best hunters were dead or had moved away. Cumming had written (in 1829) of lumbering as "the most lucrative trade in Canada" but he and the settlers suffered from "the depredations of these unprincipled hords" of "villanous Raftmen or Shantymen" and he concluded "For my own part the Ottawa would be the last place in America that I would choose for a future residence, the Red River is a paradise compared to this River". In the spring of 1837 the post at the Chats was closed and the buildings sold to J. G. McTavish. It had never developed into the important trading establishment envisaged by Simpson.

Up at Fort Coulonge John Siveright reported in 1830 that during the winter he had met much business opposition from shantymen and traders, including some Americans, who lumbered, cleared land, sold liquor and other articles and dealt in furs. Expenses were keeping at a high level, but the beaver were rapidly decreasing. Fly-by-night taverns continued to be set up.

Local supplies were by now becoming available to the fur traders. Siveright was able to buy flour and grain most economically from the Mississippi (the Ontario stream), bringing it across the frozen Ottawa. These supplies came from the mill of John Baird on the Indian River. (Baird's mill still exists. Known as the Mill of Kintail, it is the home of Major J. F. Leys, who has established a pioneer

Shantymen, as drawn by Henri Julien in a lumber camp scene.

McCord Museum, McGill University

museum and a memorial to Dr Robert Tait McKenzie, physical educationist and sculptor, who had a summer studio there in the 1930s.) Siveright left Fort Coulonge in 1835 to become for a time Superintendent of the Montreal Department. He returned in 1837 to take charge of Fort Coulonge and its outposts Lac des Allumettes and Bonne Chère.

Up river at Lac des Allumettes Nicholas Brown was in charge from 1830 until 1837. He reported in 1836 that he had sown 28 bushels of oats and intended "to sow 12 Bus. more which is all mixed with Hay Seed" and had cleared a small piece of land for potatoes and turnips.

C. C. J. Bond

The H B C post of the 1820s at Lake of Two Mountains (Oka), now a summer residence for a congregation of nuns. The square stone building, right, beyond the wooden construction may have been the magazine.

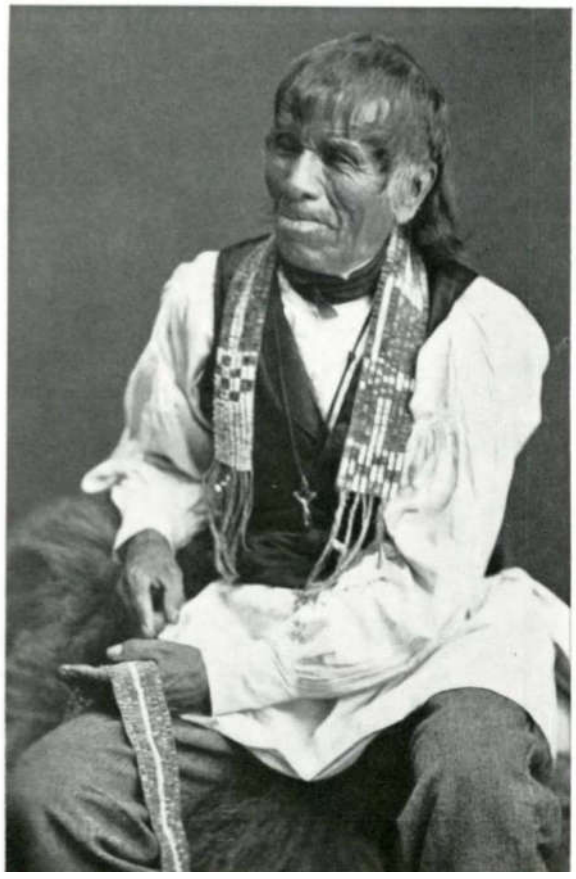
The upper posts were trying to become self-sufficient. From time to time an outpost was established at the mouth of the Mattawa. Finally in 1837 Brown left Lac des Allumettes for a time to go to the Mattawa and superintend the building of a store there.

Lake of Two Mountains, with its outpost at Lac des Sables and a temporary outpost on the Gatineau River at Rivière Désert (near present-day Maniwaki) remained in service into the 1840s. This was not so much because the trade showed a profit, but for reasons of prestige. The Company considered Lake of Two Mountains important because it afforded an influence over the Iroquois, Algonkin and Nipissing population in the villages there and provided many voyageurs, but there was also "a heavy drain of provisions to the half-starved Indian population". In 1844 the outposts were taken from under its direction. After the death there in 1847 of Chief Factor McTavish the permanent establishment was discontinued and the following summer the business was closed.

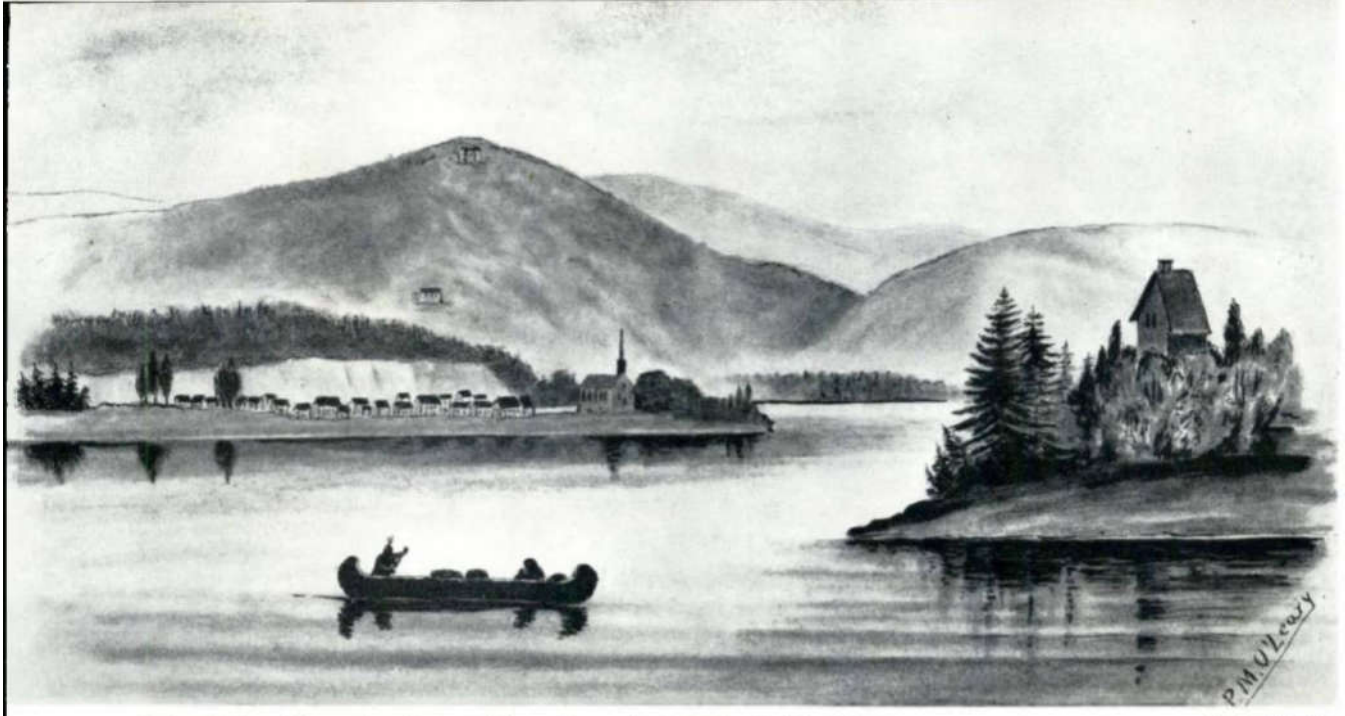
In 1849, a few years after Sir George Simpson had begun to urge the closing of the Company's establishment at Lac des Sables and its replacement by a small store for the sale of goods in the village of Buckingham, farther down the river, which he considered a better location for the collection of skins, premises were rented in the village, and Thomas Taylor, who had been in charge at Lac des Sables, moved to Buckingham. In later years the Company's agent there was Archibald McNaughton,* quite likely the Archibald McNaughten who was clerk at Fort Coulonge 1850-52. The old post in Buckingham has been demolished.

Fort Coulonge continued active, though not so much in the fur trade, but in retail commerce with men engaged in taking out timber. Hay, used in the shanties, was raised in great quantities on the Company farm. The timber business fell off sharply in 1843 following a drastic reduction the year before in the British preferential duties that favoured colonial timber over the Baltic, and about ninety per cent of the woods operators in the sphere of the post withdrew from the business. In the winter of 1843-4 the districts of Timiskaming and Fort Coulonge were united under John Siveright, who left Fort Coulonge to go to Timiskaming House. The arable lands as far up

An Oka chief photographed in 1870 displays Iroquois wampum belts. Notman Archives, McCord Museum, McGill



*Known in his later years as Captain McNaughton, probably because of a rank held in the sedentary militia. It was usual for prominent citizens in communities to hold rank in this body.



Lake of Two Mountains, Ottawa River, drawn in 1853 by P. M. O'Leary. PUBLIC ARCHIVES

as Fort Coulonge were being rapidly taken up and Governor Simpson decided to close the post there in 1844. The large farm of about 675 acres, with its buildings, was sold to Louis Brezard (Brizart) but a small sale shop in charge of James S. Watt was kept open. Under a series of clerks—Maurice Moore, William Urquhart, Archibald McNaughten, Colin Rankin, Thomas Taylor—it operated until 1855 and then was sold to Thomas Taylor.

The post at Lac des Allumettes had taken over the function of handling most of the Indian trade of the region by 1844. The practice of hauling flour and other provisions from John Baird's store and mill at Ramsay was abandoned by Hector McKenzie, clerk in charge from 1845, who felt that the long trip requiring six days on the winter road made the cost prohibitive. He decided to buy provisions and flour from Moffatt's mill at nearby Pembroke. Governor Simpson heartily approved of this economy but cautioned "You say, you think you have sufficient [oats from the Company crop] to last till sleighing time . . . but as there is no work to be done before then, I do not see that the horses require oats as I presume it is not usual to pamper the horses with oats in the stable when doing nothing". The next year, 1846, during which McKenzie was promoted to Chief Trader, it was decided to build a new shop and house 42 by 30 feet for the trader. Simpson ordered that there should be no open fireplaces except in the kitchen (but there is one in the living room). Economy was still in order and when Hector McKenzie wrote to Simpson in August 1847 to say that the house and shop were nearly finished he added: "I have from the commencement endeavored to have every accommodation with the strictest economy, the building &c. and finishing the store will cost about £150 currency three superior workmen have been employed as Carpenters since the first of April last which will give an idea of the work performed for the above sum they having furnished themselves with provisions . . .". The house stands today, a neat one-and-one-half storey structure, its pitched roof cut by gables, classical pillars supporting the verandah roof. Much of the original glass is still in place.

The district—Lac des Allumettes the headquarters, Fort Coulonge, and a temporary outpost at Rivière du Moine—showed an increased return in fur, but prices had fallen in London and profits were consequently less. Close settlement of the land made furs difficult to collect and according to Simpson ". . . here, as elsewhere, it is found that the march of civilisation is alike destructive to the aboriginal population and the fur-bearing animals." He nevertheless felt the posts must be maintained as a link in the chain of communication to Timiskaming and other inland districts. Despite rather gloomy prognostications, and the closing of the lower posts, however, returns of skins kept at Montreal show a steady increase from 1845 to 1850.

In 1848 a post office was established in the trading post at Lac des Allumettes; henceforth the post would be known as Fort William. The year 1849 was a hard one. In the spring there were floods: ". . . water up to the front walk in the garden & has washed away all the goose nests . . ." but oats, potatoes, and turnips were put in. Sales were small and post office arrangements "very irregular". By July, Wemyss Simpson who was substituting while McKenzie was at Lachine, wrote to him in profound despair: ". . . no cash to be had this month only having sold to the value of 13/- this five days.

The house built in 1847 for Chief Trader Hector McKenzie still stands at Fort William, formerly Lac des Allumettes.

C. C. J. Bond

The crops look very bad we have nothing in the garden from Grubs, Dogs hens &c. for the fence keeps nothing out & the ground is full of the former animals—the hay looks very bad & the oats quite burned up with the heat. You say you expect Stout will not have many geese we have not as yet one young one the water washed away three & the Indians or some one else stole the eggs of two more & I am afraid the Turkeys will ever remain in suspense we have eight pigs & I could get some more if you wanted them. The old white horse you bought last winter looks very bad. . . ." The old sale shop burnt down in 1852 when high wines being drawn for an agent of Allan Gilmour, Ottawa timber merchant, were ignited by a candle.

On a visit to the district in 1853 Governor Simpson found that, as in many posts, the old system of barter was no longer effective since much of the trade was conducted with dealers, tavern keepers, lumbermen, and Indians who were often employed as boatmen or labourers. There was also difficulty in adjusting the fur prices to the market value in England. Prices were pushed up by Montreal and New York furriers and he complained that at Bytown in September the Company had to pay 9 shillings for martens, 20 shillings for fishers and 5 shillings for minks. Other pelts were too high to consider and the price of the all important castoreum had risen to a new high, 35 shillings a pound.

A further complication in 1858 was the government change to decimal currency in the Province of Canada. All the book-keeping in pounds, shillings and pence had henceforth to be done in dollars and cents.

Returns of skins taken in the Ottawa posts from 1850 to 1860 are fragmentary, but it seems that the peak of the commerce was reached by 1860. The take of prime beaver had increased nearly sixfold over 1850 and figures for most of the other skins had approximately doubled. By 1864 the harvest of fur, except for muskrat, was declining.

In 1862 A. G. Dallas, Governor-in-Chief of Rupert's Land after Sir George Simpson's death, proposed that the districts of Fort Coulonge (Fort William) and Lac des Sables (Buckingham and Rivière Désert) should be united and called "Ottawa District" under Chief Factor Hector McKenzie. He recommended that Fort William be closed and the post at des Joachims take over its functions. Joachims, where there was a portage round

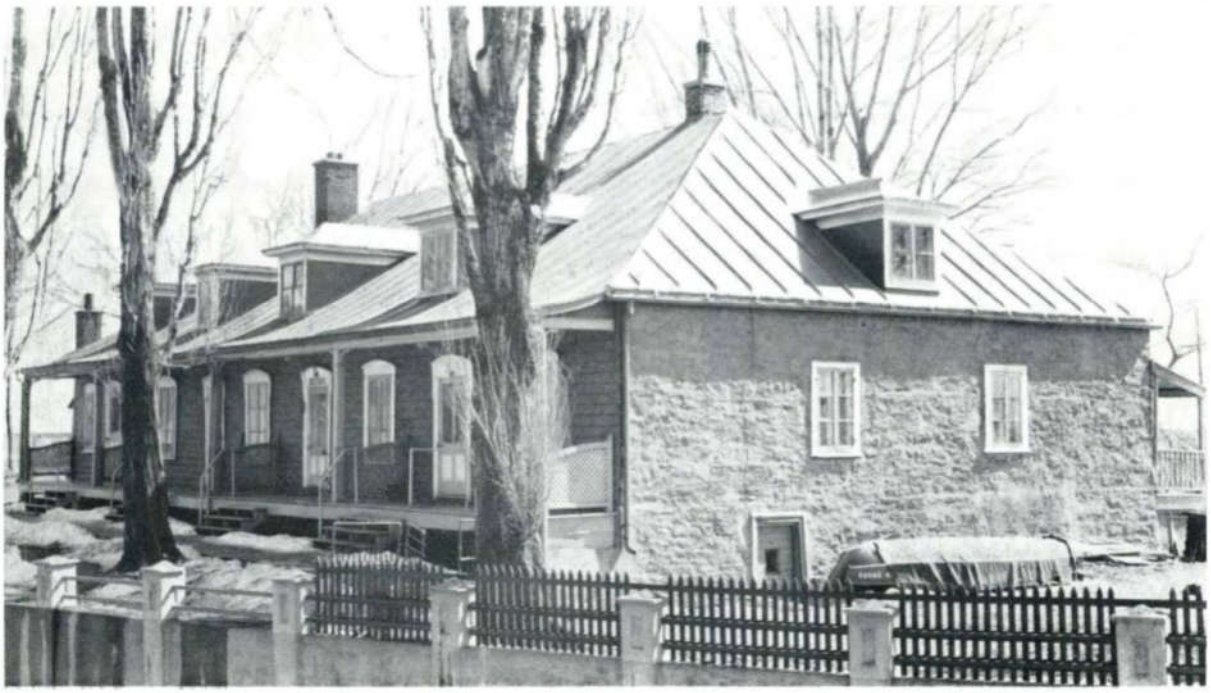
RETURNS OF SKINS TAKEN AT OTTAWA RIVER POSTS 1845-1864

For certain selected years (no returns shown between 1852 and 1860)

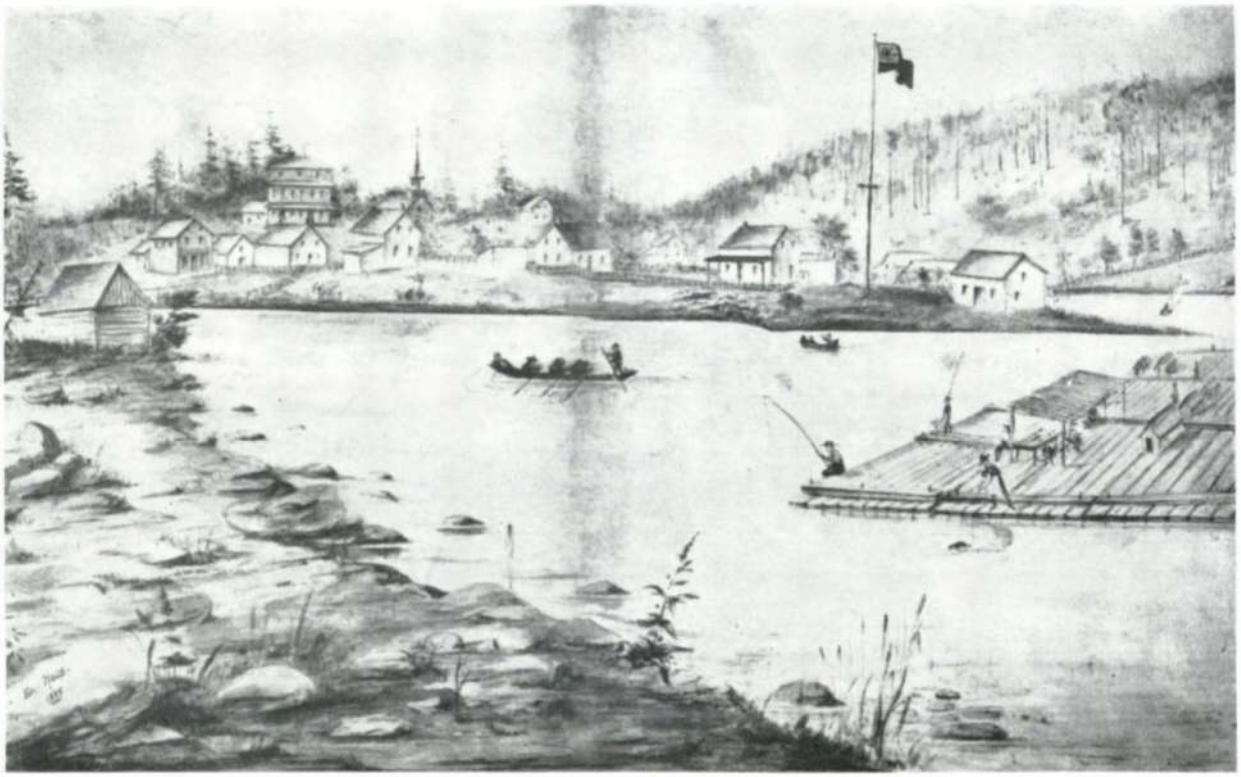
	Beaver	Otter	Marten	Mink	Muskrat	Fisher	Lynx	Wolves	Raccoons	Fox	Bears	Castoreum (Pounds)	Rabbits
1845													
Fort Coulonge	250	72	1747	210	1326	93	24	1	27	52	64	5	.....
L. of Two Mtns.	379	79	573	153	2379	20	1		21	21	8	$3\frac{1}{2}$	255
Lac des Sables	484	101	1057	319	3318	46	18	1	17	7	12	21	.....
Total	1113	252	3377	682	7023	159	43	2	65	80	84	$29\frac{1}{2}$	255
1850													
Fort Coulonge	1067	138	469	379	2634	82	15	..	17	22	23	17	107
Lac des Sables	539	182	646	772	4905	71	60	...	58	50	36	22	.....
Total	1606	320	1115	1151	7539	153	75	...	75	72	59	39	107
1860													
Fort Coulonge	3308	189	614	707	4623	81	54	2	39	46	22	136	.....
Lac des Sables	5819	266	1427	1780	10643	143	103	3	140	288	42	157	.....
Total	9127	455	2041	2487	15266	224	157	5	179	334	64	293	.....
1864													
Ottawa	8009	278	1514	2062	26582	136	124	15	400	136	....	169	.....

Of the H B C property at Lachine where the Ottawa posts were administered only the former warehouse beside the canal remains, now owned by the Sisters of St. Anne.

C. C. J. BOND



two falls, had long been a staging point between Lachine and Timiskaming. There had been trading posts in the area since the eighteenth century. After seeing Fort William, Governor Dallas described it in 1863 as "a very fine and well kept establishment, with numerous and excellent buildings and 800 acres of land, having a frontage of a mile on the Ottawa River. . . . The maintenance of such a place is necessarily expensive, the staff consists of a Chief Factor, two Clerks, a head farmer, blacksmith and several labourers . . ." It was not until 1869 that Fort William was finally sold for $3,000 to Mr John Poupore of Chichester, in Pontiac County, Quebec on behalf of Mr James McCool, at which time Chief Trader Watt was instructed to take an office in Pembroke for a Company agency.



The H B C post at Mattawa sketched by E. Roos in 1885, with a raft of squared timber at right.

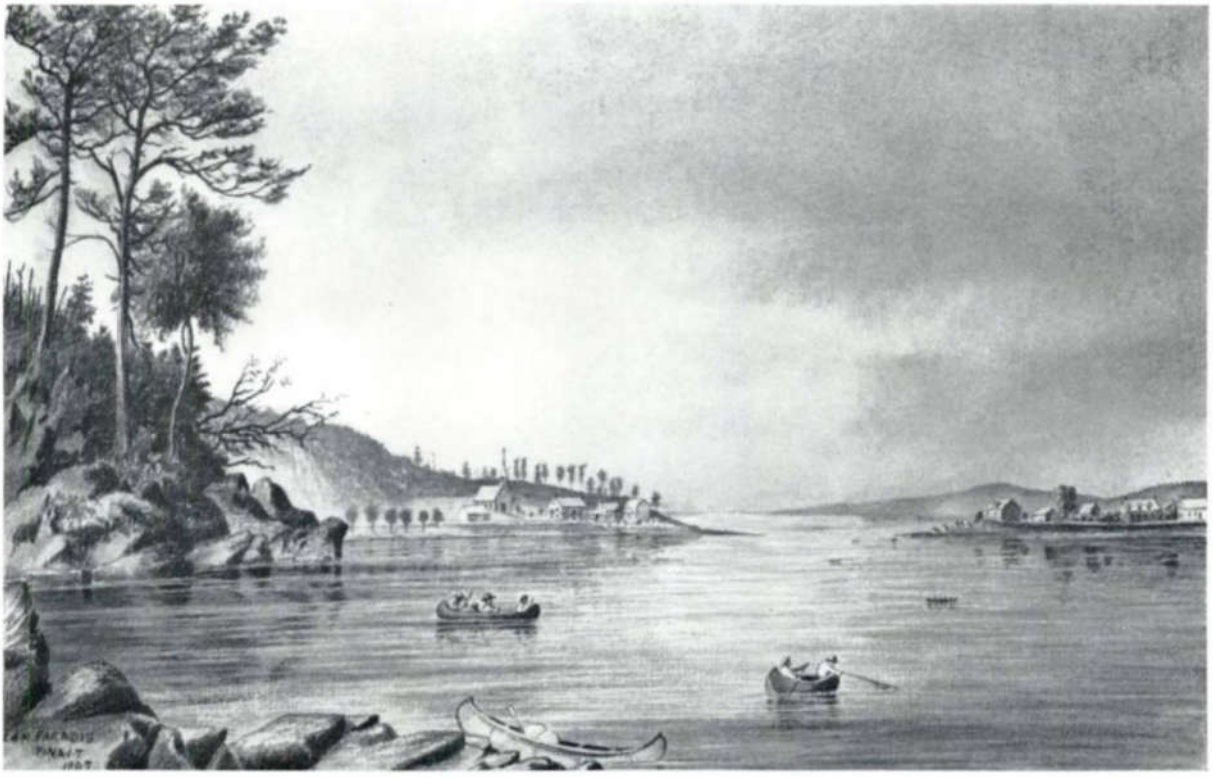
PUBLIC ARCHIVES

The agent at the Mattawa post that had been built in 1837 soon found his business disturbed by "Lumberers and Settlers" who traded liquor and provisions for furs. Among these were the McConnells of Hull (two of those seven brothers left houses that still stand on the Aylmer Road, the old staging route between Hull and Lake des Chênes). About 1840 the Hudson's Bay Company itself set up some shanties and entered the timber trade, to encourage the McConnells to "stick to their lasts" and stay out of the fur trade. "3,000 logs of superior Red Pine" were taken out by the Company in the season 1840-41. The price of timber fell sharply in 1843, reflecting the British tariff changes, and the McConnells stayed out of the fur trade; the Company discontinued timber operations.

Provisions for Timiskaming House came up the Ottawa via Mattawa, but trade goods were sent in from Moose Factory and furs went out by that route. By 1843 most of the marketable timber had been taken from the Lake Timiskaming shores and competition from lumbermen was, for a time, less acute. In 1845 Mattawa was placed

under the direction of Timiskaming House. Chief Factor John Siveright, who had come up in 1843, left the Company's active service in 1847. The McConnells shifted their operations and competed now with the Mattawa post; it was retransferred to the Fort Coulonge district (with its headquarters at Fort William) in 1848. Mattawa continued to function under a succession of agents.

outfit 1908-9 the business at Mattawa, which had been transferred a few years earlier to the control of the Lake Huron District, was moved to North Bay and the Mattawa post was closed. Timiskaming House continued in active operation only until 1891. It finally ceased all operations in 1902-03. Only the posts far up on the northern reaches of the river remained.



The narrows on Lake Timiskaming with H B C post on right, from a water-colour by C. A. Paradis in 1887.

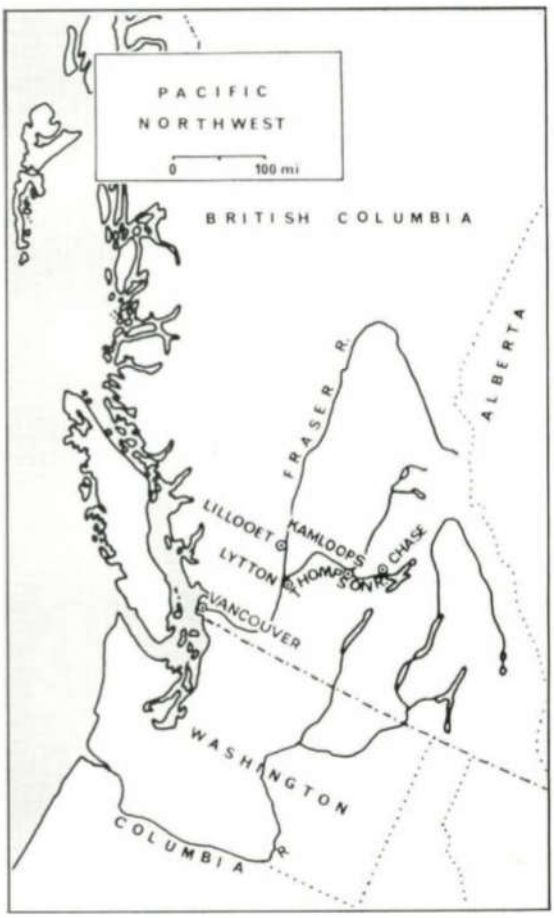
PUBLIC ARCHIVES

Another transportation revolution occurred in 1881; in April that year the Canada Central Railway was reported as nearly completed to a town that had been laid out at Mattawa. This line, extending from Ottawa via Pembroke was shortly afterwards acquired by the Canadian Pacific Railway and became part of the transcontinental line. From 1883 Mattawa, served by the C.P.R., was the chief post of the Timiskaming District. The fur trade was negligible, but the post served as a depot and starting point for Timiskaming and Abitibi. A few furs continued to be traded from outposts. During

In the century from about 1820 to 1920 the Ottawa River had seen the heyday of three great enterprises. The timber trade, that sent hundreds of rafts each year for decades down to Quebec *en route* to England, the lumber trade, that made the capital itself a great entrepôt of sawn wood from which many barge-loads each year were drawn away to the United States, and the Hudson's Bay Company's fur trade, whose produce, a luxury material, was quietly and unobtrusively canoe-borne to Montreal, all faded into insignificance. And the songs of the voyageurs and the raftsmen were heard no more. ◆

INDIAN GRAVES provide clues to the past

BY DAVID SANGER



THE DISCOVERY OF THE BURIALS was accidental. A bulldozer, widening a road, nudged a human skeleton out of its aboriginal grave, disclosing one of the most fascinating prehistoric archaeological sites ever found in British Columbia. Unfortunately, no trained archaeologists were on the scene, and within a few days hordes of relic collectors, Indian and White alike, had reduced the site to piles of sand, deep pits, and scattered human bones. This was in the summer of 1960, and it was September of that year before archaeologists could investigate the site.*

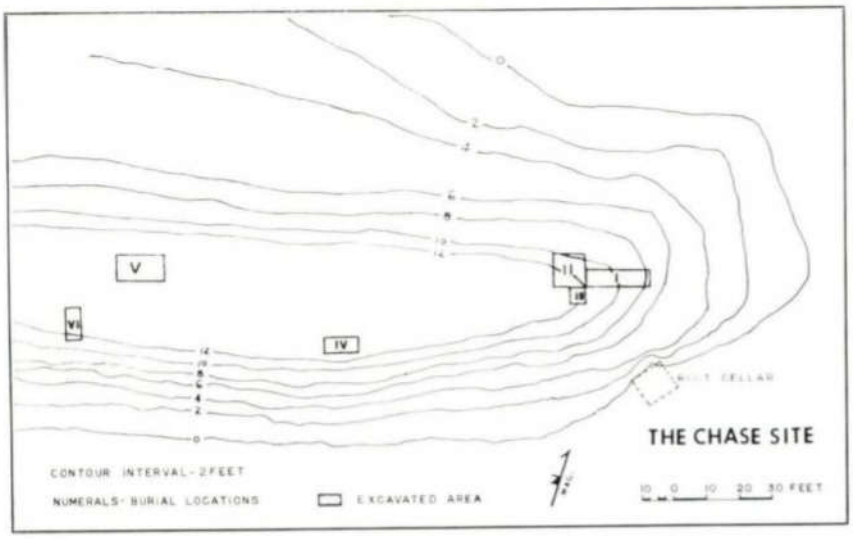
The site, known as the Chase burial site, is located on the north bank of the South Thompson River, three miles west of the town of Chase, and about thirty-six miles east of Kamloops. A slow meandering river, the South Thompson has cut deeply into the surrounding hills, leaving broad, flat, flood-plains. On both sides of the river the hills rise fairly steeply up to the various plateaux which make up the British Columbia Interior Plateau. The hills are park-like, and in prehistoric times supported mule deer and herds of elk. Also of importance to the Indians were the various species of salmon which annually ascend the South Thompson River to spawn. Much of south central British Columbia was inhabited in early historic times (1800) by Indians speaking Interior Salish languages, and one of these tribes, the Shuswap, claimed the territory around Chase. Even today, one can discern the probable remains of the prehistoric village of *Hal'at*, located about one-quarter of a mile upstream from the burial site.

The burials were interred in a sandy ridge about 200 feet long, and extending out onto one of the South Thompson River flood-plains. An examination of the site suggested that the eastern end of the ridge was the least disturbed, the relic collectors' activities here being restricted to half-a-dozen apparently unproductive exploratory pits. A small tent camp was pitched off to the side of the site, and we settled in for a three week stay.

It is the archaeologist's task to discover all he can about the way of life of past peoples. Many of the clues required to piece together the puzzle of a prehistoric culture are not obvious, and must be meticulously gathered through painstakingly careful excavation and observation. The excavation of burials is especially

*A grant from the National Research Council of Canada to Dr Charles E. Borden of the University of British Columbia financed the excavations. Mr P. Harrison directed the field operations.

Dr Sanger, formerly with the department of anthropology at the University of Washington is now on the staff of the National Museum of Canada.



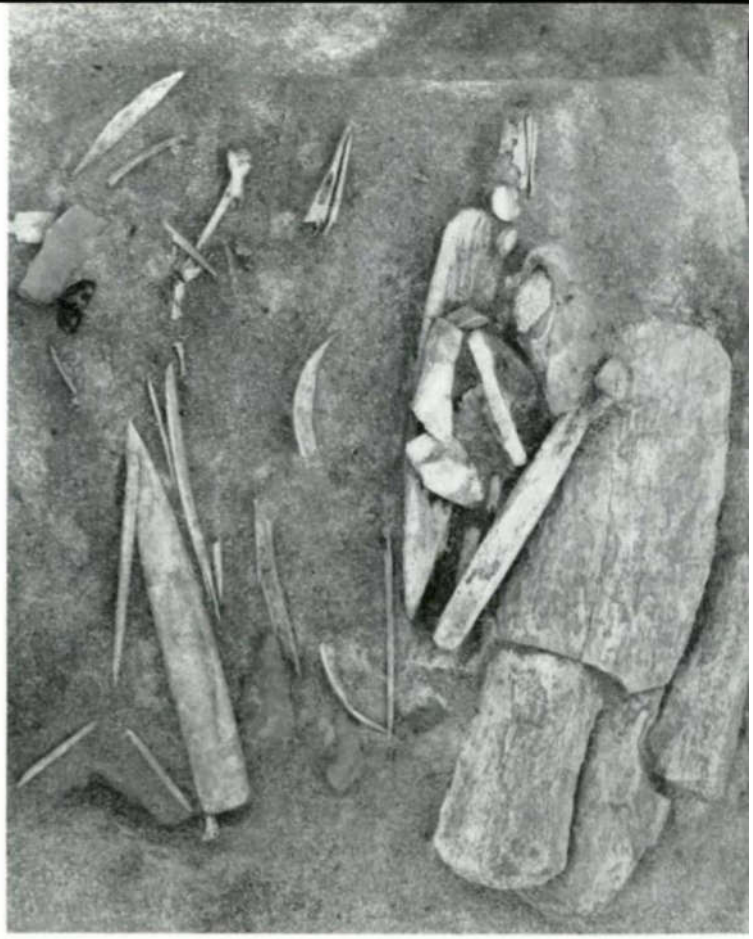
The broad flood-plains of the South Thompson, shown at far left looking up the valley, contain many archaeological sites. The Chase burial site on the north bank is shown below. All the burials were located along the top of the sandy ridge.

P. HARRISON

delicate, and it is the archaeologist's goal to uncover and expose the skeleton without disturbing a single bone or associated artifact.

After we had completed our contour map of the site, excavation commenced by carefully digging in five foot squares with small pointed mason's trowels. On the second day of excavation we encountered our first burial (Burial 1), coming upon it from the back of the skull. Once the orientation of the skeleton had been determined, we slowly exposed the burial, bone by bone, scraping first with the trowel, and then whisking away the loose sand with paint brushes. Occasionally, small dental hand tools and grapefruit knives were utilized to gain even more control. Little by little the burial was exposed, and every bone was left just as we found it. Finally, after two days, Burial 1 and the artifacts with it were exposed, the burial extensively photographed and sketched, and all the appropriate measurements recorded. The bones were then gathered up and placed in labelled bags, ready for shipment back to the laboratory for further examination and analysis.

People tend not to bury their dead in a random or haphazard manner, but usually follow certain well-established and long-standing patterns which can be deduced from excavations. At the Chase burial site, the Indians preferred to inter at a depth of between one and two feet, and in a flexed or curled-up position. These and other burial habits can be compared with patterns from



Burial 3 completely excavated. Near the feet of the tightly flexed skeleton is a cluster of artifacts, bone and antler projectile points, stone implements, and bird beaks placed with the body at the time of interment. The three slender sharpened bone pieces arranged in a Y at lower left, also shown in the close-up of the artifacts, formed part of a fish spear or leister.

other sites, and the conclusions utilized in reconstructing the prehistory of an area. In addition, the care expressed in the method of burial, and the number and type of the artifacts placed with the body, hint at the social position of the deceased, a special vocation (if any), and eventually something of other aspects of the prehistoric culture. From this it is obvious that untrained excavators can almost totally ruin a site, and greatly reduce its scientific value.

Five burials were excavated in our three week "dig" at the Chase site. All five had been placed into pits one to two feet deep, and all the burials were loosely to tightly flexed. Grave additions, in the form of artifacts, accompanied all the burials but one. There was possibly a pattern to the orientation of the burials with four lying east/west and the fifth placed north/south. In some burial sites it was the custom to deliberately "kill" (or ritually break) the accompanying artifacts at the time of interment; this was not so at the Chase site. We discovered artifacts placed in a variety of locations, including the lap, in a group at the feet, and above the head.

In addition to utilizing techniques such as radio-active carbon (C-14) dating, the archaeologist can often

Fig. 1

U.B.C. COLLN.

Fig. 2

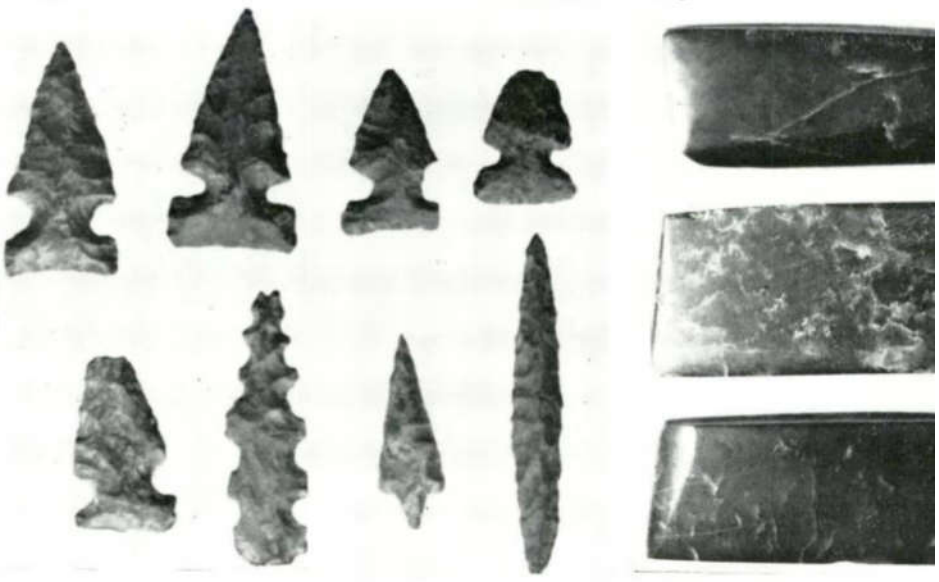


Fig. 1. Typical points from Chase site, side-notched arrow points of glassy basalt. The specimen bottom right is about 2 inches long.

Fig. 2. Unhafted jade adze blades or celts which would have been mounted in wood and antler handles and used in woodworking.

Fig. 3. Tubular straight pipes of soapstone, apprently used with a wild variety of tobacco (Nicotiana attenuata).

estimate the age of a site by examining certain key artifacts, such as projectile points, known to have been popular during a certain time period. At the Chase site, a cluster of artifact types indicate a late prehistoric date, while the presence of a few pieces of non-aboriginal copper (so identified through co-operation of metallurgists) suggests that the influence of the Fur Trade, functioning then on the eastern side of the Rocky Mountains, was beginning to make itself felt. Several archaeologists, working with American Plateau sites, have expressed the opinion that trade goods from the eastern posts preceded the actual arrival of the White Man by perhaps 50 years, and that copper was probably among the first of these artifacts to reach the West. Utilizing these various clues, I would suggest that the Chase burial site was used between the years A.D. 1400 and 1750.

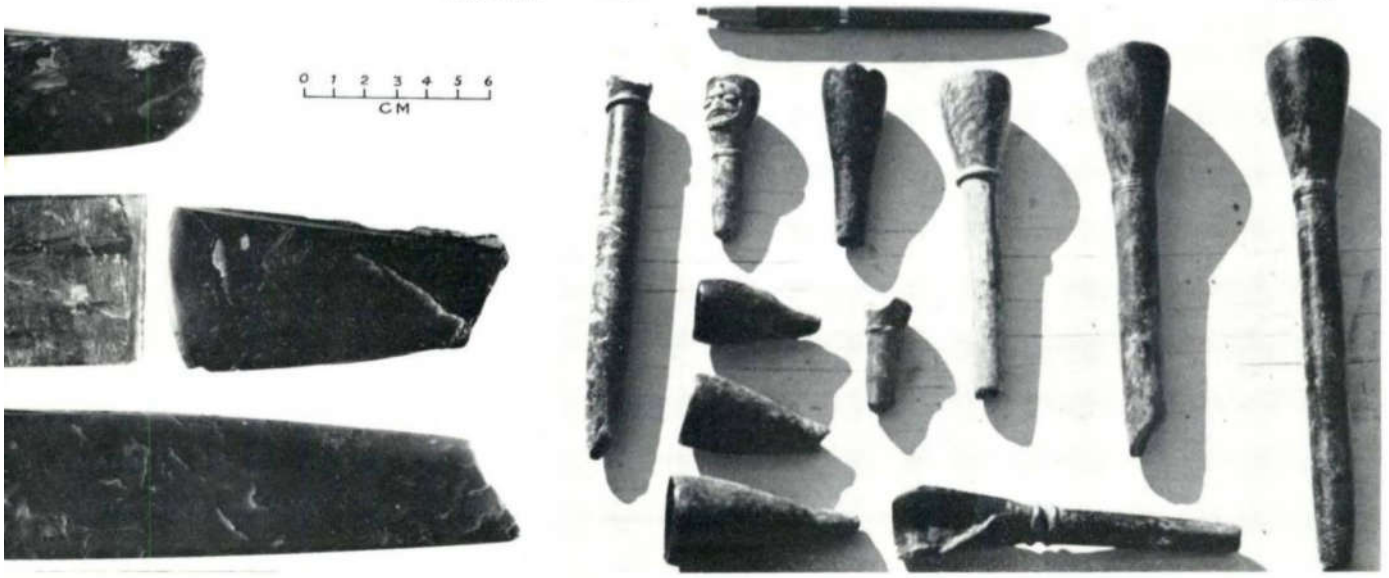
The artifacts from the Chase burial site are among the most spectacular ever recovered from a prehistoric site in the Canadian Plateau. Space does not permit a complete description of the many varied and finely-fashioned pieces but reference to the illustrations will indicate the range of materials. Much of the comparative analysis in the Canadian Plateau is dependent upon the types of projectile points, both arrow and spear points. At Chase, like many fairly recent Canadian Plateau sites, the dominant projectile points are basically triangular with a notch on each side (Figure 1). Most of these projectile points probably armed arrows. Numerous celts or adze blades made of hard green stones (commonly called "jade" in the area) were also recovered (Figure 2). They range in size from small chisel-like implements to larger tools capable of felling a tree or excavating a dugout canoe. Tubular straight pipes (Figure 3), without elbows, are made of soapstone, and are occasionally decorated, such as the illustrated example with the human head carved into the bowl (Figure 5: b). Perhaps the most spectacular artifacts are the several examples of

Fig. 4. A bird bowl carved from soapstone, approximately 4" high, a type of prehistoric stone sculpture found in Fraser River area. W. DUFF

sculpture in soapstone, including carvings of human, bird, bear, and rattlesnake figurines (Figures 4, 5). Relationships between some of these carvings and the historic Northwest Coast woodcarving styles are evident, although the historical significance is not yet clear.

Antler, mostly elk, was used in the manufacture of many artifacts (Figures 6, 7). Frequently the antler pieces were tastefully decorated with both realistic human and animal representations, as well as abstract geometric motifs. We found burials with the cross handles from root digging sticks, harpoons, and various pointed pieces which probably served as spear heads. There were objects of bone, again mostly elk, and in contrast with the antler artifacts, the bone pieces were infrequently decorated.

U.B.C. COLLN. *Fig. 3* W. DUFF



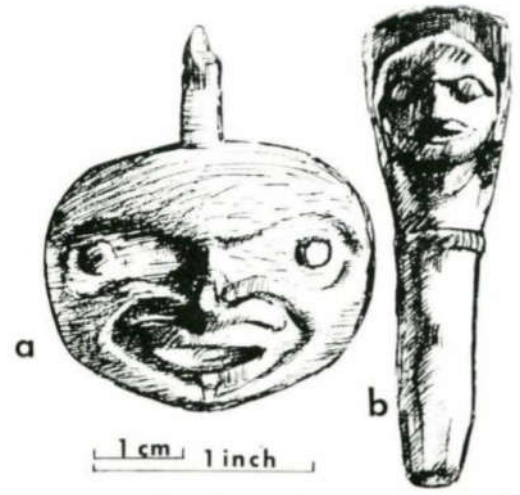


Fig. 5. Carvings in soapstone (a) a miniature human face in traditional style and (b) human face carved into bowl of a small tubular pipe.

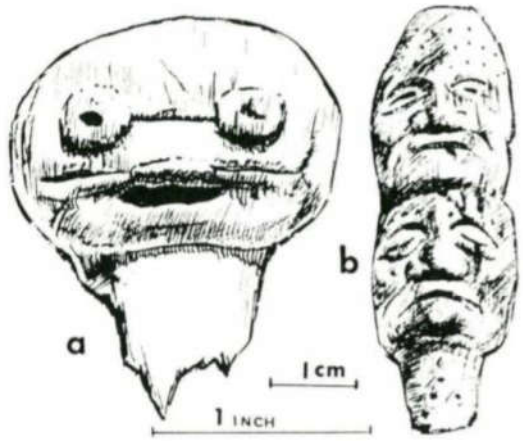


Fig. 6. Decorative carvings on handles of spatulate objects. Dots on the faces of (b) may represent tatoo marks. The material is antler.

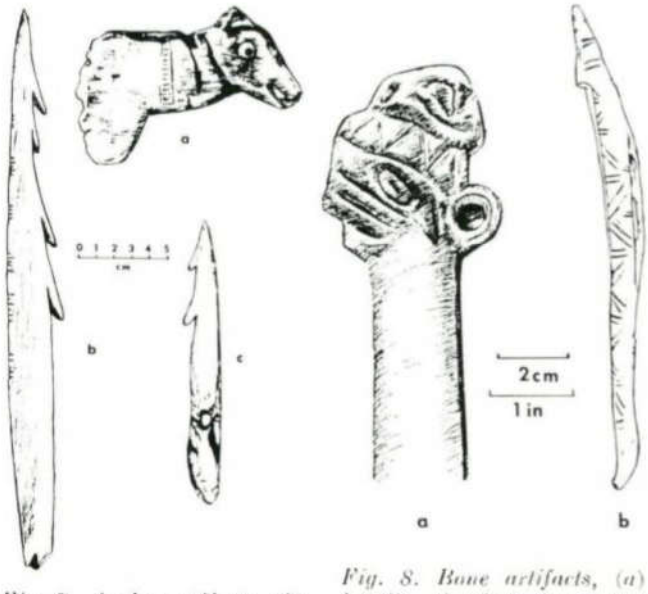


Fig. 7. Antler artifacts, (b) and (c) harpoon heads, (a) striking head of a club of elk antler with a sharpened tine.

Fig. 8. Bone artifacts, (a) handle of whale bone club with decoration similar to coast area clubs and (b) pendant made of bear bone.

One of the most exciting discoveries, at least from the archaeologist's point-of-view, was the presence of three sharpened bone pieces arranged in a Y, in Burial 3. These three slender bone points were probably the barbs of a leister, or fish spear, and would originally have been attached to a wooden frame. In time the wood deteriorated, but the bone was preserved. The precise positioning is the only clue to the function of these points, emphasizing again the need for controlled systematic excavation by trained investigators. Also of considerable interest was the discovery of large clubs made of whale bone, carved in a tradition well-known on the Northwest Coast, and traded inland (Figure 8:a). We came across a touching array of inclusions placed beside the tiny body of an infant burial. In addition to some pendants and bird beaks, we found two miniature bows made of bone and, attached to the under surface with pitch, there was a series of minute, very sharp bones, probably intended as arrows.

There were also a few articles of wood with the burials, the most interesting of which were a birch-bark pouch full of artifacts located pillow-like under the head of a skeleton (Figure 9), and a small mask (Figure 10), the first known to have been recovered from an archaeological site in the Northwest.

As mentioned earlier, it is the archaeologists's job to reconstruct, in as much detail as possible, the life-ways of a past people. This includes descriptions of the habitations, types of tools, dietary habits, the physical surroundings and man's relationships to them, and finally, something of the composition of the prehistoric society. The archaeologist has to review all the available evidence and then make some informed guesses. As the evidence at hand suggests that the burials date from a few centuries before the coming of the White Man into the Interior of British Columbia, it is justifiable to compare our findings with the artifacts and general way of life described for the historic inhabitants of the Chase area, the Shuswap Indians.

Descriptions of the Shuswap when first contacted by the White Man, around 1800, are fairly complete. (See especially James Teit "The Shuswap", *American Museum of Natural History, Memoirs*, Vol. 2 Number 7, 1909.) The Indians along the South Thompson River were greatly dependent upon the salmon which they usually took with fish spears. Preserved by drying in the hot summer breezes, the salmon constituted a food supply that lasted well into the winter when supplemented by elk, deer, and waterfowl. Roots and berries formed an important part of the diet, and the gathering of these was considered women's work. Winter dwellings of the

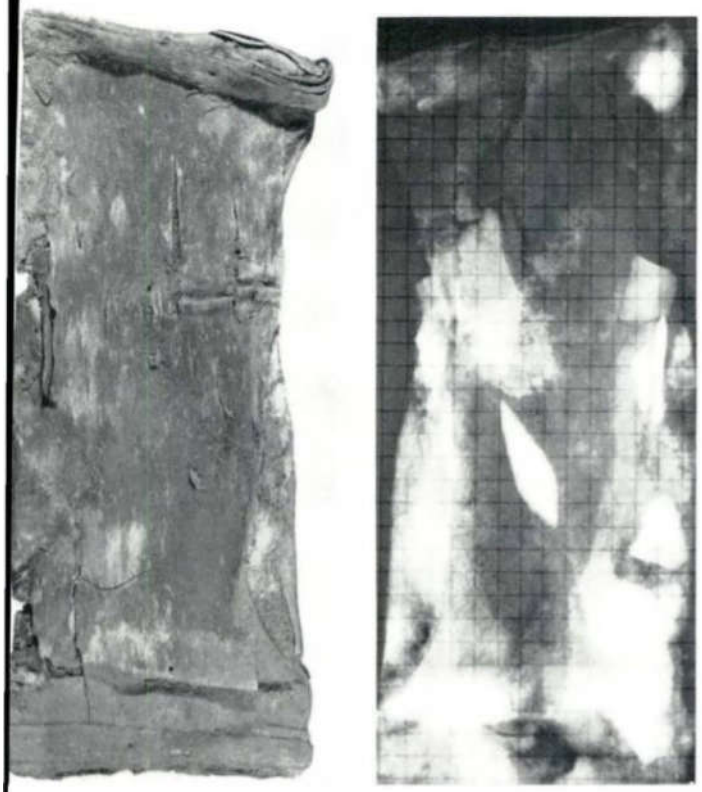


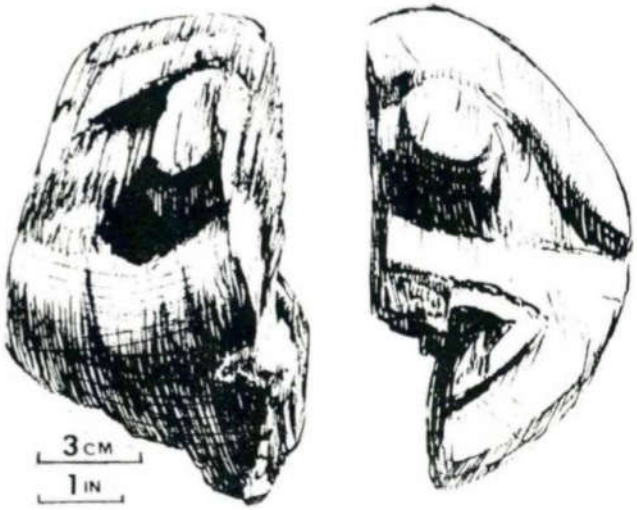
Fig. 9. Flattened birch-bark pouch, originally cylindrical and about 15" long, found beneath the head of a burial. Examination of the contents by X-ray reveals a leaf-shaped projectile point. C.B.C. 11643-N.

Shuswap consisted of semi-subterranean houses of from 20 to 40 feet average diameter, and dug to a depth of 3 to 5 feet. A sub-conical arrangement of poles, bark, and sod formed the roof. In the spring of the year, the Shuswap abandoned their winter homes and erected small, temporary lean-tos, usually by their hereditary fishing locations or root-digging grounds. The Shuswap kept few slaves, and tended to respect the equality of all free men. Warfare was not common, but the accounts suggest an ability to retaliate or fight a defensive war with effectiveness. At death, the corpse was buried in a folded position in the village cemetery, and many of the deceased's possessions were also placed in the grave. Shuswap religion was based upon the individual acquisition of a Guardian Spirit helper or "partner", from whom the individual received help and inspiration. Small remembrances of the Guardian Spirit were sometimes carried on the person.

Our excavations at Chase indicate a prehistoric people who led an existence very similar to that described for the historic Shuswap. We found evidence of hunting in the arrow heads, the spear heads, and in the presence of artifacts manufactured of elk bone and antler. Also present were objects fashioned from beaver and bear teeth. The leister points associated with Burial 3 provide evidence of fishing as does the presence of harpoons, while the importance of root digging is attested by the number of root digging stick handles. Various other artifacts, such as the adze blades, hammer stones, and wedges, provide some idea of the aboriginal woodworking tool kit. The archaeologist is often at a loss to make many meaningful statements about such things as religion and the composition of society, but some of the Chase ceremonial objects, coupled with the historical accounts, suggest that the practice of acquiring a Guardian Spirit helper was present in prehistoric times, and the beaks of the birds and representations of animals both in realistic and geometric forms, may have functioned in this religious context. Finally, the burial pattern at Chase is very similar to that practised by the historic Shuswap.

The Chase site, while unique in some ways, conforms to a general picture that is starting to emerge from other investigations in south central British Columbia. Several sites between Lytton and Lillooet on the Fraser River have yielded artifacts which are very similar to those from the Chase site. It would seem that a similar way of life, with minor fluctuations due mainly to environmental differences, existed from the Chase area, along the South Thompson River to Kamloops, and across to the Lytton-Lillooet area on the Fraser River. While the precise limits of this complex (I have termed it the Kamloops Phase) are as yet unknown due to the pioneer nature of the archaeology in this portion of British Columbia, I would suggest the dates of A.D. 1200 to 1800. By the latter date the influence of the Fur Trade on the eastern side of the Rocky Mountains was beginning to effect a drastic change upon the aboriginal populations of the British Columbia Plateau. ◆

Fig. 10. Small wooden mask found in two pieces. Its presence suggests coastal contacts as masks were not reported for the Shuswap in early historic times.



Drawings by C. Carter. Figs. 5, 6, 7a, 8a, 10 and by J. Maas, Figs. 7b and c, 8b. X-ray courtesy Drs Miller and Spire. Photos not otherwise credited by the author.

HALF FORGOTTEN ON A LONELY POINT OF LAND IN THE OTTAWA RIVER

The Other Fort William

By Enid Swerdfeger Mallory

JUST ABOVE ALLUMETTE ISLAND on the Ottawa River's north shore, you find the other Fort William. Not the Fort William that witnessed the colourful gathering of *hommes du nord* and *mangeurs du lard*, and later became a busy modern city. Here instead, is a Quebec Fort William, quiet under its norway pines.

It is a surprising find for it is not a ruin of crumbling foundations and it is not a carefully restored tourist attraction. It is simply a little of the fur-trading past preserved because the winds of change blew gently here.

One gets lost finding Fort William but the sandy roads all lead to the swift, beautiful Ottawa River and make getting lost quite satisfactory. We got lost at noon and ate lunch where the trail ended on a high rock ledge over the river. Downstream were the noises of river men at work and we could see their log booms shimmering below us.

On a lonely point of land that curves into the Ottawa River, we eventually found Fort William. We found a general store looking like the ones in pioneer village museums—but it was open for business! There was an atmosphere of empty space and an abundance of old-fashioned brown bins. Behind the counter, we found Mr Lewis Miller whose grandfather had acquired the old shop sold by the Hudson's Bay Company. Mr Miller's present brick store is on the site of the original Hudson's Bay store and attached to a stone storehouse which was part of the old building. Around the store are scattered the buildings that played a busy part in the nineteenth century trading life of the post.

According to Mr Miller, Indians used to come to trade from as far north as the James Bay area until a post at Mattawa, farther upriver, was built. Later, when the fur trade was dwindling, Fort William experienced the activity and excitement of the great lumber drives.

The chief factor's residence, just south of the store, is built of logs, covered at a later date with clapboard. Built with a fashionable flair that defies its wilderness location, it has gracious rooms with wide, ornate doorways, attractive, spacious windows and fluted pillars supporting the front veranda.

The residence of the clerk stands on the northeast side of the store. It is now a modest white-painted family home. Close to the clerk's house, a tall, lonely cross guards a small graveyard on a rise of land above the river.

Mr Miller showed us the barns containing assorted relics. A frame used in the making of birchbark canoes seemed to bring the past impressively close. While we wandered around he told us of days when the little post welcomed the arrival of the Jesuits once a year from

Photographs by Gordon Mallory

Montreal. "Their first work would be burials; then baptisms and marriages. After that there would be a grand gathering with Indian tents pitched all over the cleared land, for horse races and sports."

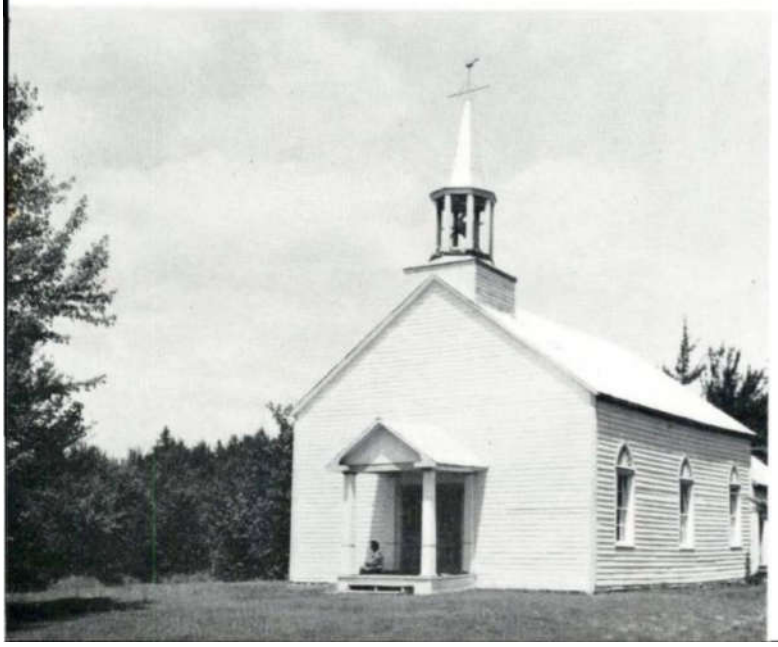
A trail from the store leads behind the factor's residence past the old blacksmith shop to an attractive white church framed on two sides by forest and looking out over the water. There are still services in the church during July and August when fishermen and cottagers increase the population.

Long established custom brought the Indians to Lac des Allumettes in the summer, to their church and place of burial. A wooden church was erected for the Indians by the H B C about 1857, to be used by visiting missionaries of any denomination. In 1858 Hector McKenzie reported that "All the Indians connected with this Post are encamped round the establishment awaiting the arrival of the Priests from Moose . . .".

While we were there, a letter arrived from the mayor of Fort William, Ontario. A few weeks before, at a convention of mayors and reeves in Pembroke, the mayor had heard of this "other Fort William" and come to see it. His letter was an expression of thanks to Mr Miller for his hospitality. Mr Miller recalled how the mayor had said, "There are fifty thousand people in our Fort William; forty-nine thousand, nine hundred and ninety-nine of them don't know there's a Fort William in Quebec. When I get back they're going to hear about it."

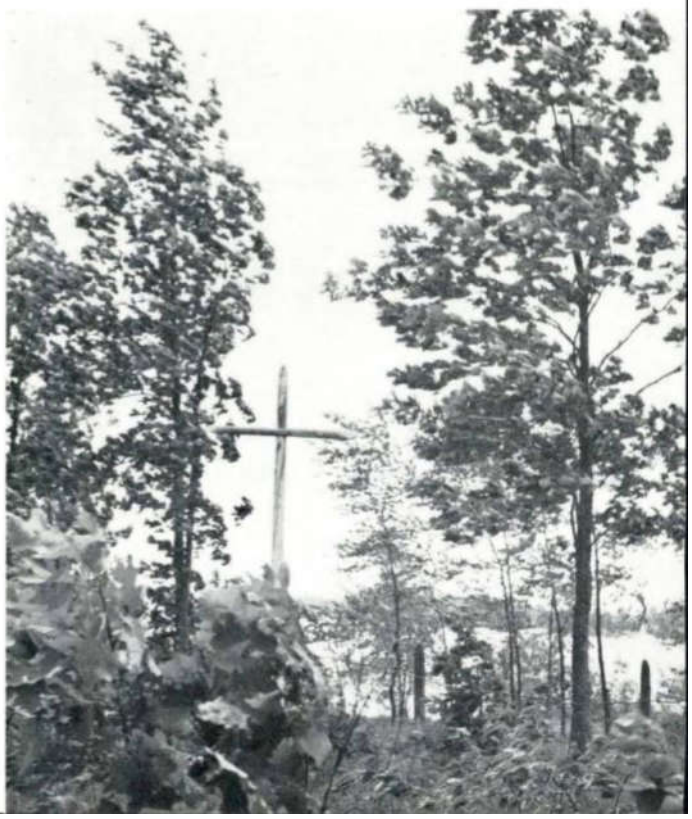
Perhaps their great grandfathers knew of it. Perhaps they were among the voyageurs making their way up the Ottawa along the route that led through Lake Nipissing and the French River to Georgian Bay, Lake Superior and the great meeting place, Fort William; and they may have stopped at the little post near Ile aux Allumettes that shares the name, Fort William. ◆

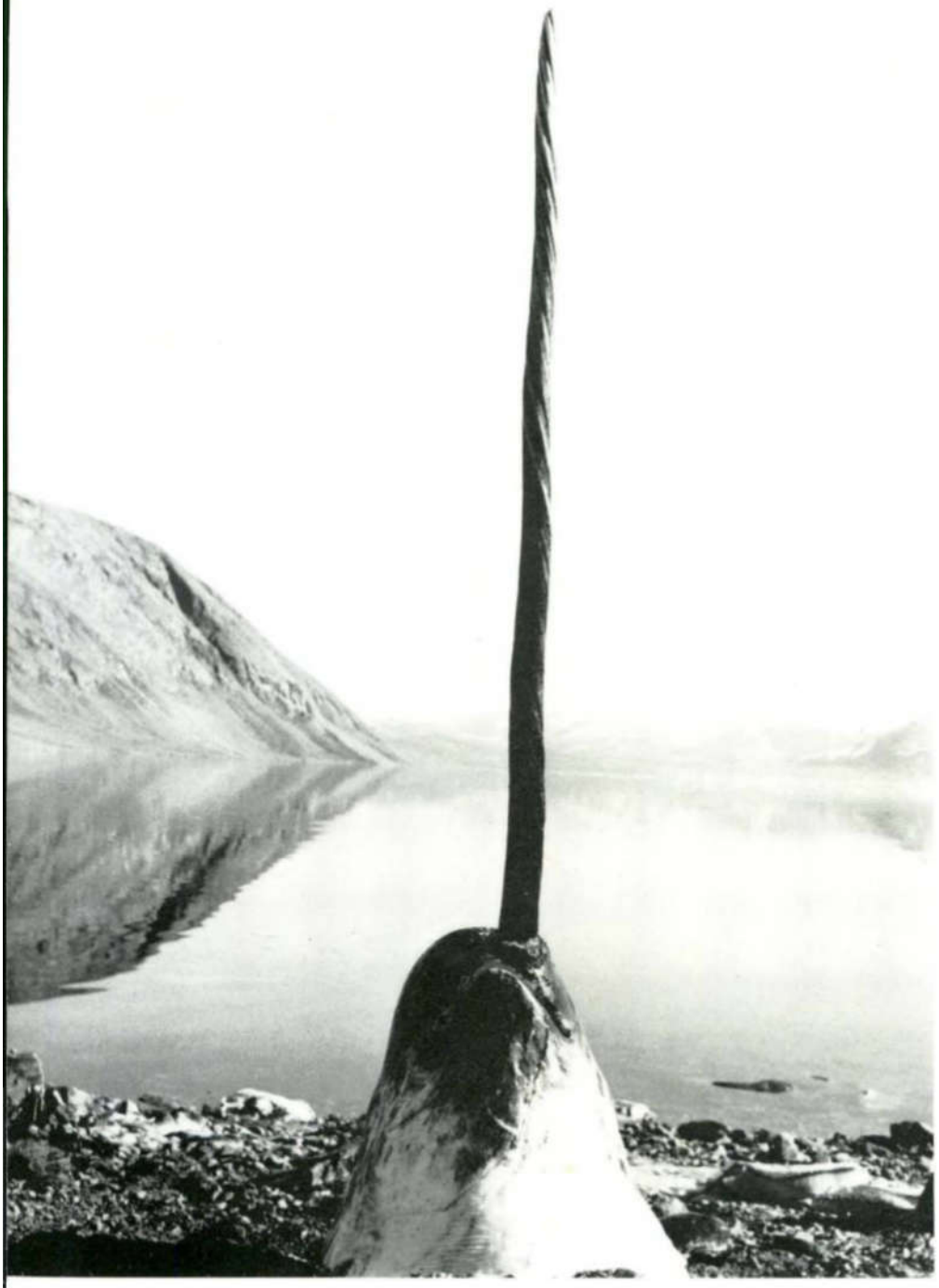
The neat white-painted church stands apart in a woodland clearing.



The old stone storehouse, seen also at the right of picture opposite behind the trader's house. *(See also p. 18.)*

The former house of the clerk is still occupied and near it (below) is the burial ground, marked by a simple cross.





NARWHAL
the sea unicorn

BY FRED BRUEMMER

Freeing the net from a floe in Koluktoo Bay where ice menaced nets all summer.

ALL PHOTOS BY THE AUTHOR

FIRST TO MENTION NARWHAL in Canadian arctic waters were Dionise Settle and George Best in their accounts of Martin Frobisher's second voyage, in 1577, to the bay now named after him. Best wrote: ". . . here was also founde a great deade fishe, which . . . was in proportion rounde like a Porpose, being about twelve foote long, and in bignesse answerable, havyng a horne of two yardes long, growing out of the snoute or nostrels. This horne is wreathed and strayte, like in fashion to a Taper made of waxe, and maye truely be thoughte to be the sea Unicorne."

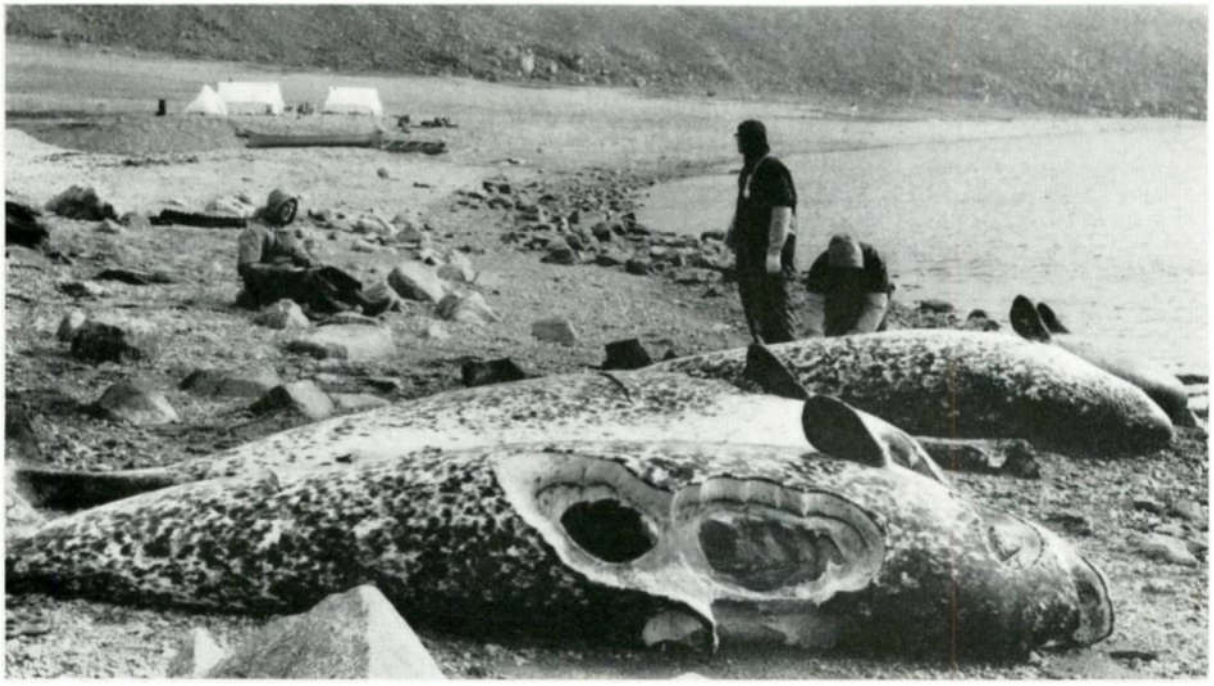
While the narwhal itself was, until then, nearly unknown, its spiralled tusk was highly valued and formed an important part of the medieval pharmacopoeia as the "horn of the unicorn". Among other wonder-working qualities, this horn was reputed to neutralize poisons. So strong was this belief, that until the French Revolution, the food of kings of France was tested for poison with utensils made of "unicorn horn", later identified as narwhal ivory.

Between the 11th and 15th centuries, narwhal tusks reached Europe from the Viking settlements of Greenland. Icelandic records state that in 1242 a ship carrying "unicorn horns" was wrecked on the coast of Iceland.

Other tusks came from Siberia. Collected by Eskimos, Chukchis or Koryaks, they passed from tribe to tribe,

Koluktoo Bay was a whaling centre centuries ago and David Robb examines the remains of an ancient Eskimo house. Ribs of bowhead whale would once have supported the sod roof of the structure.

Opposite: Each part of this male narwhal is carefully measured in the Fisheries Research Board study.



Near the camp these narwhals, some badly mangled by sharks, are measured by Brian Beck and David Robb while Dr Arthur Mansfield, left, records the data.

The tuskless narwhal on the right is a female.

either south to China or west to Russia. In China, the tusks, called *tu-na-si*, were used for ornamental ivory work, or sold to India. From there some were traded to Arabia and eventually even to Europe. So valuable were the tusks, they were considered a gift worthy of an emperor. The ghost-haunted Tsar Boris Godunov (c. 1552-1605) sent a delegation to Shah Abbas of Persia with a special gift of seven "fish horns".

With the beginning of the "northern fishery", the hunt of the bowhead (or Greenland) whale in arctic waters, frequent though rather fanciful reports of narwhal reached Europe. Inspired, probably, by the whalers' tall tales, the famous 18th century French naturalist Comte de Buffon wrote that the narwhal "attacks without provication . . . and kills without need".

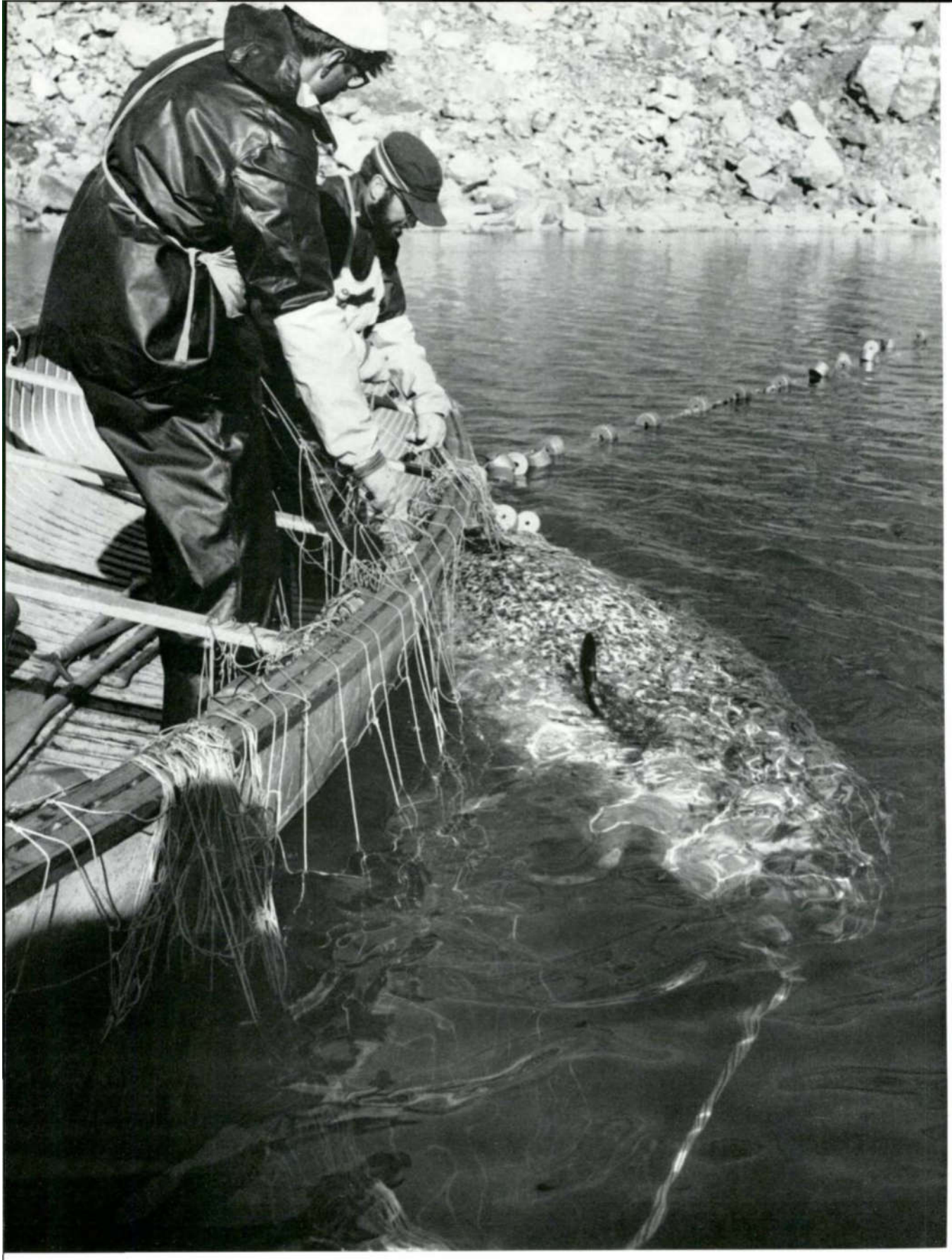
The narwhal (*Monodon monoceros*) probably owes its name, a corruption of the Old Norse *nahvalr*, meaning corpse whale, to its peculiar colour. Young animals are a dark bluish-grey. Adult narwhal are mottled with dark dots and dashes upon a greyish-white background. The older they are, the lighter their colour becomes.

It is not a large whale, rarely exceeding twenty feet in length. What makes it so remarkable is the great, straight, twisted, tapered tusk jutting out from the head of the male. This tusk consists of ivory and can attain a length of ten feet. It is really an overgrown canine tooth. Actually, both male and female narwhal have two teeth in their upper jaw, but in the female these teeth, with extremely rare exceptions, do not protrude from their alveoli. In the male only the left tooth develops into a sinistrally spiralled tusk. Occasionally the right tooth, too, grows into a tusk, which then also has a left-handed twist.

Scientists have advanced dozens of delightful theories on what narwhal may do with their tusks. It has been said, they use them to poke breathing holes into the ice or skewer their food (mainly cuttlefish and halibut) with it. Some believe the males use their tusks like rapiers to fence for the favour of their tuskless females. Now the most widely accepted theory is that the ivory tusk is merely an ornament of the male, a secondary sexual characteristic, like the mane of a lion or the comb of a cock. (See note at end for Eskimo theory.)

The narwhal would certainly be ill advised to use his formidable looking tusk for either offence or defence, because it is quite fragile. The tusk is hollow (the dental canal nearly reaches the tip) and its ivory rather brittle. It is common to see narwhal whose tusk tips are broken off.

The Eskimos have, of course, always known and hunted the narwhal. Its rendered blubber burns with a yellowish flame in their oil lamps. The meat is eaten or



used as dog food. Eskimos are particularly fond of narwhal skin, which they call muktuk. They cut it into small cubes and eat it raw. It contains, per unit of weight, nearly as much vitamin C as lemons. To the explorer Peter Freuchen, muktuk tasted like hazel nuts. Personally, I found it only rubbery and rather bland.

In the past, the Eskimos hunted narwhal from kayaks with harpoons and inflated sealskin floats. Now they usually shoot them from the spring ice, when the animals surface in leads among the floes. They must be harpooned immediately afterwards, since dead whales sink.

Narwhal live only in the arctic seas, from roughly the 70th parallel to as far north as they can find open water. They were seen from Nansen's ship *Fram* at 84 degrees north and, more recently, at 85 degrees north by Russian scientists on a drifting ice station. They usually occur in small schools of five to fifty animals, but occasionally immense pods have been sighted, consisting of as many as 10,000 narwhal, according to Freuchen.

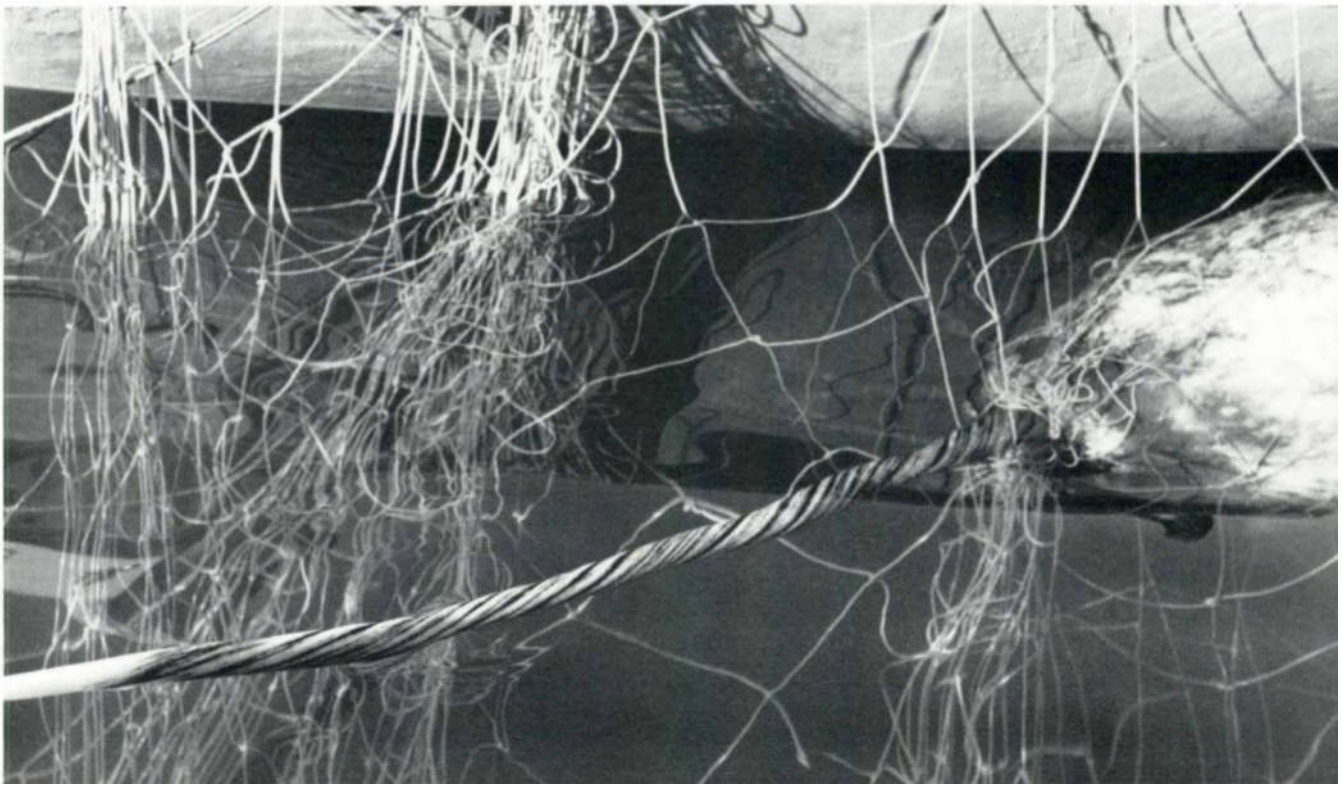
The Canadian ornithologist Leslie M. Tuck, while studying murres on Bylot Island, off northern Baffin Island, saw narwhal swimming towards Eclipse Sound at the rate of about 300 an hour. More than 2,500 passed below him in one day. These whales were probably heading for Milne Inlet, an arm of Eclipse Sound reaching nearly 80 miles into Baffin Island.

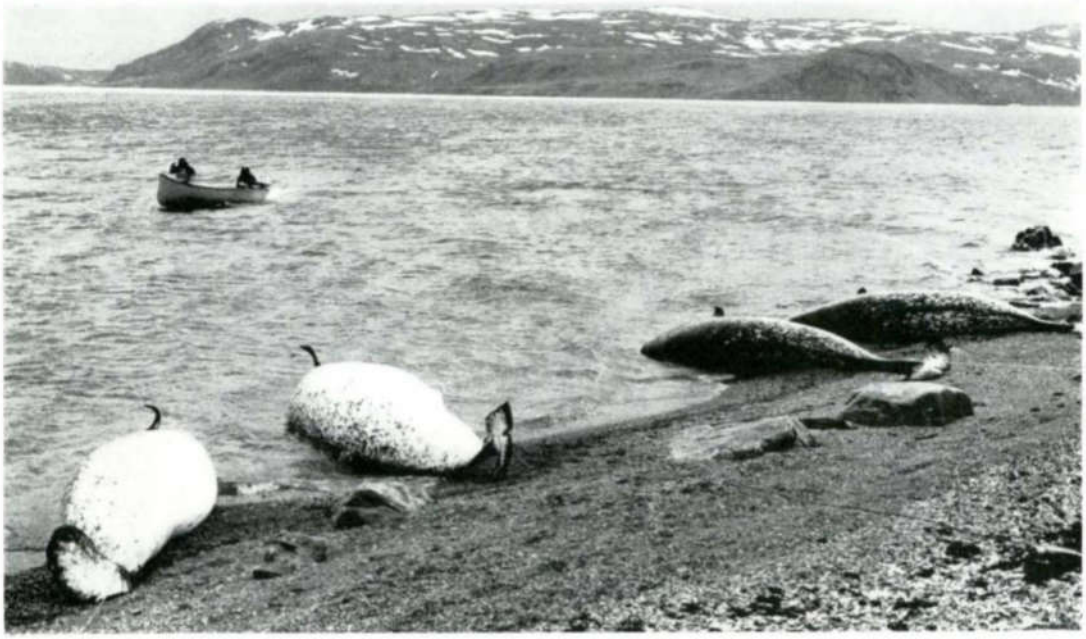
At Koluktoo Bay, near the head of Milne Inlet, scientists and technicians of the Arctic Biological Station Fisheries Research Board of Canada, have carried out during the past years the first intensive study of narwhal. Koluktoo Bay was chosen by Dr Arthur Mansfield, who heads the study, on the advice of Pond Inlet Eskimos. Narwhal, they told him, come to this bay in early August, swimming close past the great promontory of Bruce Head.

The Eskimos were certainly right. In the summer of 1964, Dr Mansfield and two technicians, Brian Beck and David Robb, were standing high on Bruce Head when, suddenly, the narwhal came. From their vantage point, they could see the animals swim close together, more than 2,000 of them, the tusks of the great males flashing through the greenishly pellucid water.

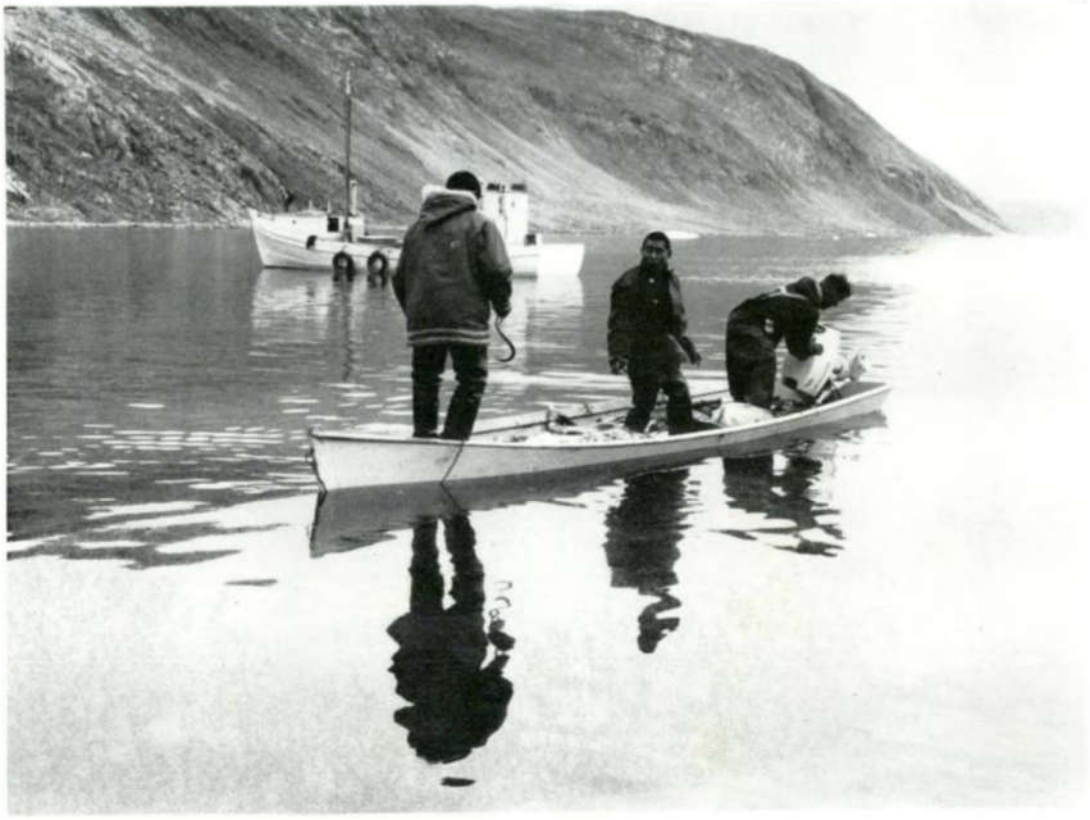
Many hours of work in icy water are required to untangle narwhals caught in the long, big-mesh nylon nets.

Right: A large colony of parasitic narwhal lice in an old skin wound. A few of these lice are regularly found at the base of the tusk.





Narwhals caught by the government team pulled up on the beach in Koluktoo Bay and, below, Pond Inlet Eskimos, their boat loaded to the gunwales with narwhal meat and blubber head for the waiting Peterhead to transfer the haul to its hold.



They caught the narwhal with nets. Since narwhal navigate by sonar-like echo-location, they seemed to be able to detect and avoid the rather fine-meshed nets used the first two years. Quite a number of narwhal were caught, especially at Bruce Head, but it was felt that more efficient nets were needed. In 1965, four new nets were set, each 100 yards long, 20 yards deep, with 18-inch mesh, made of the strongest nylon. Ice conditions were far worse than in previous years, and for the first weeks the narwhal catchers had a strenuous time alternately setting their nets and then saving them in a frantic hurry when ice floes sailed majestically and menacingly towards them.

No nets at all could be set at Bruce Head where ice continued to drift back and forth all summer. Possibly this was fortunate, since the new nets proved to be remarkably efficient. Seventeen narwhal were caught; once four great males in one net, each with a tusk nearly six feet long. The whales were carefully measured, dissected, and tissue samples, parasites, and reproductive organs collected for further study. Meat, blubber and skin were cached and picked up at the end of the season by Eskimos from Pond Inlet.

In addition to providing a wealth of biological knowledge about the narwhal, the Fisheries Research Board work at Koluktoo Bay has resulted in perfecting an efficient technique of catching the whales. Since it is often impossible for Eskimos to harpoon narwhal immediately after they have been shot, a great number of killed animals are lost. Netting narwhal is less wasteful and may possibly be adopted in the future by Eskimos, just as the seal netting method of the St Lawrence north shore fishermen was successfully adopted by the Port Burwell Eskimos.

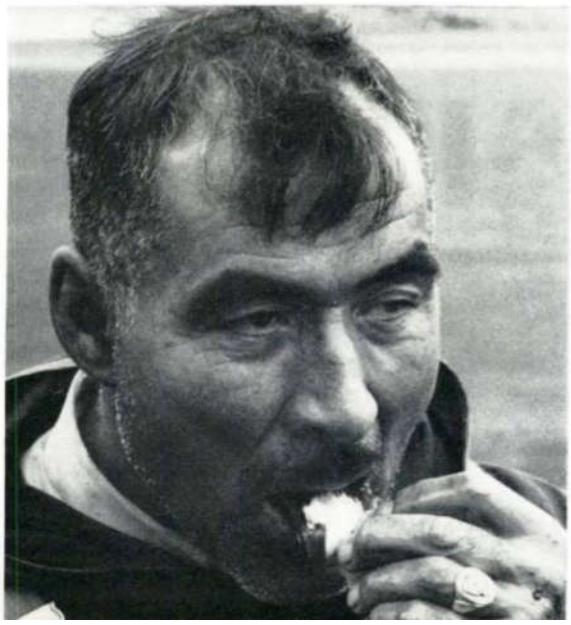
Although a great deal has been learnt about the narwhal through the Fisheries Research Board study, many questions remain to be answered. Narwhal seem to migrate, but next to nothing is known about these cyclic movements. In summer they swim into the great inlets and bays of northern Baffin Island and Greenland, but for what reason is not clear.

They remain in the bays nearly until freeze-up. Sometimes they linger too long. Ice forms at the mouth of a fiord and the narwhal, who must come up to breathe every 10 to 20 minutes, and cannot swim great distances under ice, are trapped. They then try to keep open a breathing hole, called *savssat* by the Eskimos. Freuchen says "we have seen 1,000 animals trapped this way" and notes "one can hear the noise the unfortunate animals make for miles." To find a *savssat* is, obviously, the dream of every Eskimo. The whales cannot escape and enough of them can be caught to provide a whole settlement with meat.

The narwhal, whose spiralled tusk once inspired so many fanciful fables is still, in many ways, a mysterious animal, mainly because it lives in some of the remotest, least accessible regions on earth. But through the work of the Fisheries Research Board a new pattern of knowledge is emerging about this strangest of all Canadian mammals, the unicorn of the arctic seas. ◆

NOTE: A few years ago a Hudson's Bay Company veteran of forty-odd years service in the Arctic, L. A. Learmonth, made some comments as to what Eskimo hunters with whom he had often conversed about them believed to be the use of the narwhal tusk, writing: Always it will be noted that the point of any whole narwhal tusk is well polished from use of some sort. Frequently points are chipped and sometimes broken off, and generally are worn down somewhat on the under side at the point, very much worn down on some of the older tusks. According to the Eskimos of north Baffin Island this wearing of the tusk is from it being much used to stir up tom cods, sculpins and such from where they lie on the sea bottom and which are often found in the narwhals' stomachs in considerable quantities, particularly just after break-up when these animals coast along in schools in the shallow water near the shore of Regent Inlet off the northwest coast of Baffin Island.

Special Constable Kayak eats a piece of muktuk and, right, fulmars squabble over drifting blubber.



A PRIMITIVE COMPUTER

BY DOUGLAS LEECHMAN

LATE IN THE SEASON OF 1958, during the restoration of Fort Prince of Wales, across the river from Churchill, Manitoba, a most extraordinary stone was found in the rubble in the southeast bastion. It stands about thirty inches high, has a maximum circumference of five foot seven inches, and is octagonal, roughly resembling a flat-sided jar with many facets.

Most of the facets, as well as the flat top, are engraved with numbers reminiscent of those on a sundial, being arranged in curves and running like this: 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 1 2 3. The numerals on the flat top are in Roman figures, all the others in the Arabic. There is, however, no gnomon on any facet, to cast a shadow, nor is there any socket in which one might be inserted.

Photographs of this mysterious object were sent to the National Maritime Museum in Greewich and the people there consulted a specialist in sundials at the Science Museum in London, who gave it as his opinion that it was not a sundial, nor could it possibly be used as one. Nevertheless, it did appear to have something to do with the passing of time or with calculations of some sort.

Few of the people who visited the huge stone fort during the forty-two years of its occupation would have the ability to carve such an object. There was one, however, Captain Christopher Middleton, who arrived on the 8th of August 1741, in charge of the *Furnace* and *Discovery* expedition. He spent the winter there, ready to explore to the northwards as soon as possible in the following summer. James Isham had been put in charge of the fort and actually arrived to take over two days after Middleton landed. The two men had known each other for years and were both keenly interested in scientific affairs, especially in the arctic.

When, at last, the new stone fort was ready for occupation, in 1740, the old post about six miles upriver was no longer used except as convenience dictated. Middleton's men were housed here and he and his officers were given quarters in the new fort. Here Middleton undertook a number of astronomical observations, with but poor success. Isham describes the experiments:

"I was by when the Said C.M. try'd several times to make observations of some Celestial Bodies, perticular the Emersions of the salitties of Jupiter, with Reflecting and Refracting tellescopes, — but the metals & glasses by that time fix'd to the objec't was Cov'd. a ¼ inch thick of Ice, and therefore the Object Rendered indestinct, so that itt's with much Difficulty that any observation can be take'n."

The Public Record Office in London has a description of the telescopes Captain Middleton had on board but there is no mention of the mysterious stone. Nor does Isham refer to it as far as we know.

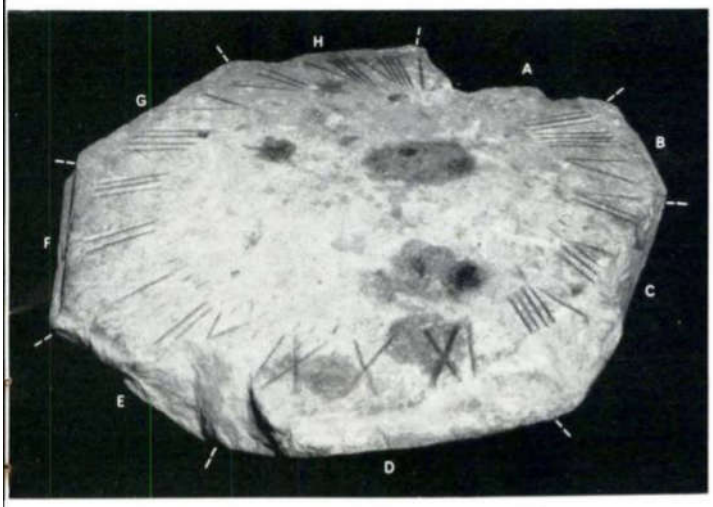
The only other occupants of the Fort who would have taken an interest in such things were two astronomers, William Wales and Joseph Dymond, who had been sent to Churchill by the Royal Society to observe the transit of Venus across the face of the sun on the 3rd of June 1769. As there was only one ship a year in those days, they had to come in the autumn of 1768 and stay there for a year before they could go home again. Good fortune was theirs; the skies were clear and the observations excellent, as recorded in the Transactions of the Royal Society in Vol. 59:467-488, 16th November 1769.

Their first duty on arrival was to get their instruments ashore and set up in the little observatory they built on top of the southeast bastion. Wales tells about this in a paper which he presented to the Royal Society in 1770:

"August 11th, 12th, 13th, 15th, 16th, 17th, and 18th (1768) we got on shore the observatory and instruments.

"August the 19th and 20th. We laid the foundations for the observatory in its proper place and position, which was on the S.E. bastion, the higher and lower observatories nearly N.N.E. and S.S.W. of each other respectively. This place and position, though inconvenient in some respects, were, in my opinion, the most eligible for our purpose. We also got up the sides thereof, and fixed up a stiff plank of dry English oak to screw the clock to; this plank was about 5½ feet out of the ground, 4 feet in it; 16 inches broad, and 4½ thick, and supported with spurs to make it steady. There was likewise placed at the foot of it, in the most solid manner possible, a stone of about a quarter of a ton weight, with a flat surface, to set the bottom of the clock case on; so that the clock stood entirely independent of the observatory.

"On the 8th (of September) we set up the two clocks. The 9th, put up the stove in the observatory, the two thermometers. The 10th we filled the barometer, and put it up; we also took out the quadrant, which we found much tarnished, especially the arc, and adjusted it ready for observation."



Top of the stone, with Roman numerals. Letters indicate the corresponding sides.

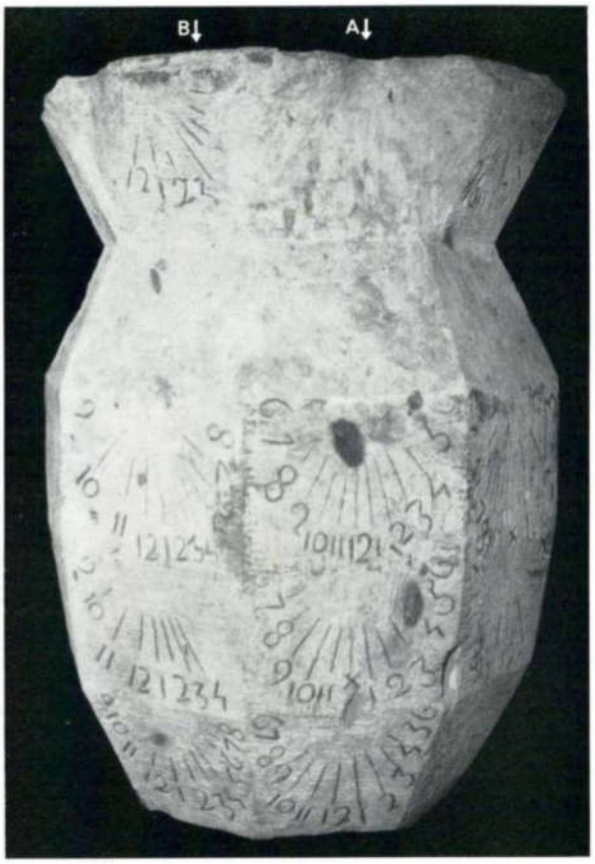
There were many troubles to afflict them. One was the matter of keeping warm. Once they noted that the clock had stopped "notwithstanding the fire, which was very good, and by agrement with Mr. Wales, I let the fire go out, the stove being obliged to stand so near the side of the observatory that a little extraordinary fire would endanger the same, it having twice melted the lead at the back already." Later on, he records that "I removed the compass into the room where we lived, which was kept very warm by a large fire and by the house stove."

Apparently neither of the astronomers kept a personal diary. Wales says he did a good deal of shooting round about the Fort and busied himself "computing tables of equations to equal altitudes for facilitating the determination of time". Whether the mysterious stone was involved, we cannot tell.

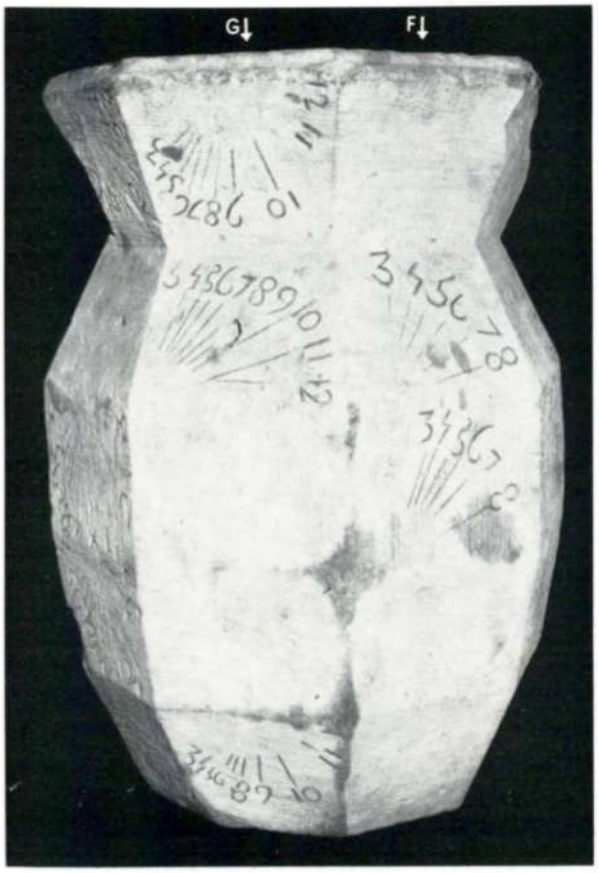
There are two predominant kinds of stone in the vicinity of the Fort: the local limestone bedrock, and sandstone drift, presumably carried by the ice. Both of these were used in the building of the Fort, but the carved stone is not of either of these, which seems to suggest that it was brought along with the other astronomical equipment with a definite purpose in mind. Its source has not been determined.

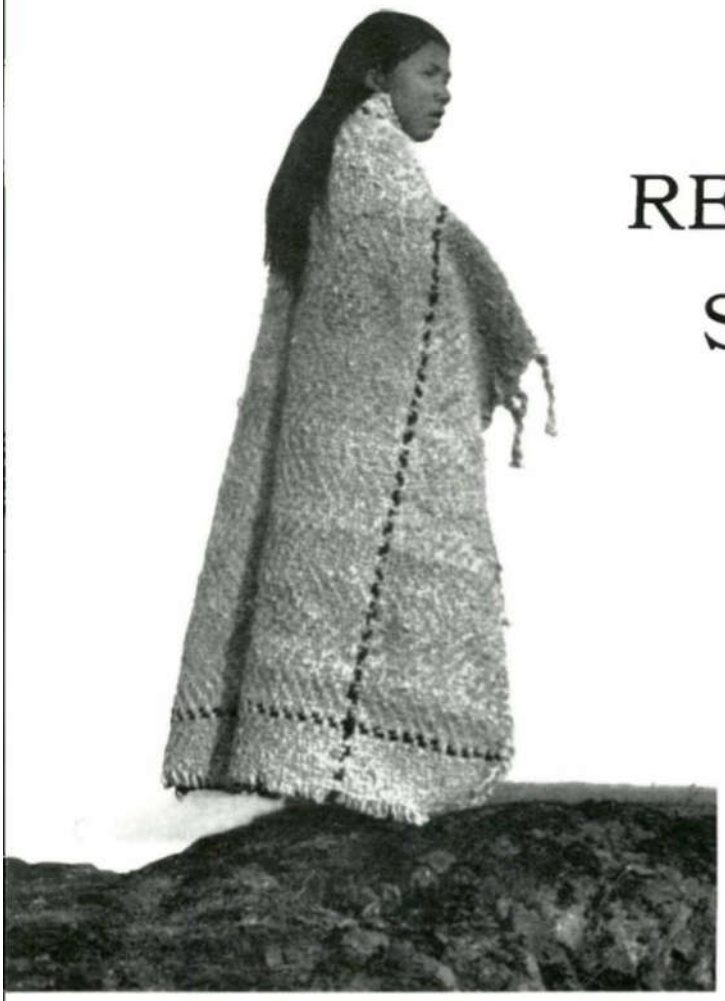
Whether the stone was shaped and engraved at the Fort, we do not know. There were competent masons there who would be quite able to do such work, as the many inscribed stones in the walls of the Fort testify. It was on the 9th of August, 1782, that La Perouse captured the Fort and "made all the English prisoners, burnt the buildings within the curtain walls, broke the guns, and blew up the arches of the magazines in the bastions". He also helped himself to all the furs and provisions in the place, a lucky stroke for him as he was almost out of food and many of his men had scurvy.

Today the stone is in the Museum at Lower Fort Garry, still a mystery and as silent as the Sphinx. ◆



Sides B and A (above) and G, F, below with Arabic numerals, some inverted.





A Coast Salish girl of noble birth wearing a goat-wool robe. NATIONAL MUSEUM

RETURN OF THE SALISH LOOM

BY OLIVER N. WELLS

During a lifetime spent among the Salish, Oliver Wells has become keenly interested in preserving their language and skills.

MEMBERS OF THE STALO TRIBES of the Coast Salish Indians have again taken up the ancient art of loom weaving. They are weaving blankets, a craft almost completely abandoned last century, and rugs, which have not been made for some forty years. Instrumental in this revival were Mrs Adeline Lorenzetto of the Ohamil Reserve and Mrs Mary Peters of the Seabird Island Reserve on the banks of the Fraser, the river known to their people for generations as *Stalo* (river). To them, the Fraser had no other name, and from the River the tribes from Yale to the Coast took their name; they like to be known as "the Stalo people".

Early writings about the Coast Salish by such authorities as anthropologists Franz Boas and Charles Hill-Tout, naturalist J. K. Lord, and naval officer and explorer R. C. Mayne give detailed accounts that indicate these tribes made great numbers of blankets. They used them not only for their own comfort, but also as gifts to establish friendly relations, and as potlatch items in a display of wealth, at what were known as "blanket feasts". One of these blanket feasts, held on the banks of the Chilliwack River near the Boundary Commission supply depot established in 1858, illustrates the extent to which the blanket, regarded as an emblem of wealth, was used. According to Captain C. W. Wilson's journal: "We had a grand festival among the Indians, several tribes coming to a feast here; these festivals are annual, held at different places, and the Chiefs give away between 300 and 400 blankets . . .". One writer referred to the social use of the blanket as the mainstay of a thriving industry which kept the women almost continuously employed. In ceremonies of marriage union many blankets were involved as gifts between the families and in the case of a girl of high rank the path from her home to her husband's canoe might be covered with blankets for her to walk on. At other ceremonies also, including burials, blankets figured largely among the gifts distributed.

The original native blankets were woven in a twilled or twined weave using principally wool from the wild mountain goats of the Cascade Mountains which bordered the tribal grounds, or the hair of native dogs, which were bred for the purpose. Spinning the yarn was accomplished by the use of the spindle and whorl. In the homes of the Upper Stalo Indians three of these original type blankets have been proudly retained by their owners. One owned by Mrs David Charles of Seabird Reserve is a large heavy blanket, plain white in colour, with a twilled

weave. Another, belonging to Mrs Hope of Seabird Reserve, is a blanket about 60 by 72 inches; it is made of a finer spun yarn and is ornamented with five stripes of red and brown colour, woven into it lengthwise at regular intervals. It is principally of a twilled weave.

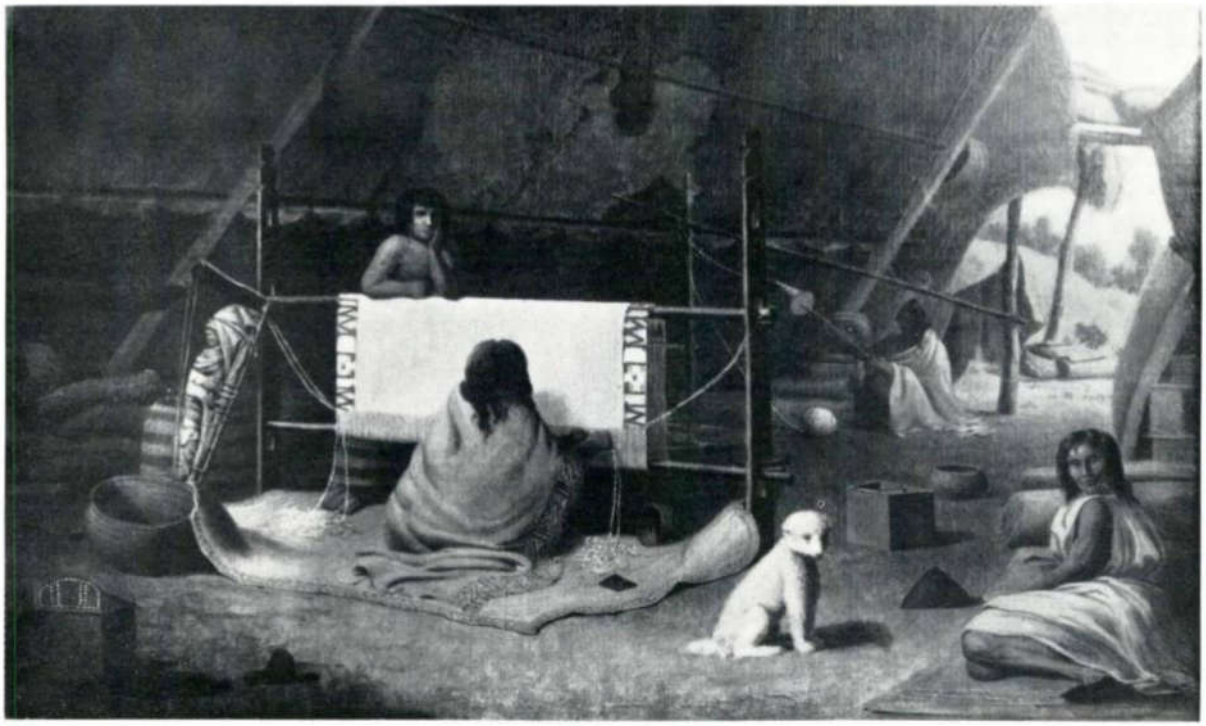
The third blanket, owned by Mrs August Jim, has been given by her to the Chilliwack Museum. It was woven in a twilled weave, all white, except for interwoven half-inch strips of a red commercial blanket material, which were introduced for ornamentation. The ends of this blanket have been finished with a three inch wide strip of plain checkerboard weave, with loop ends of the warp extending about two inches beyond this. These blankets were probably made close to 100 years ago. Their owners are among the older of the present generation and do not remember having seen such blankets made.

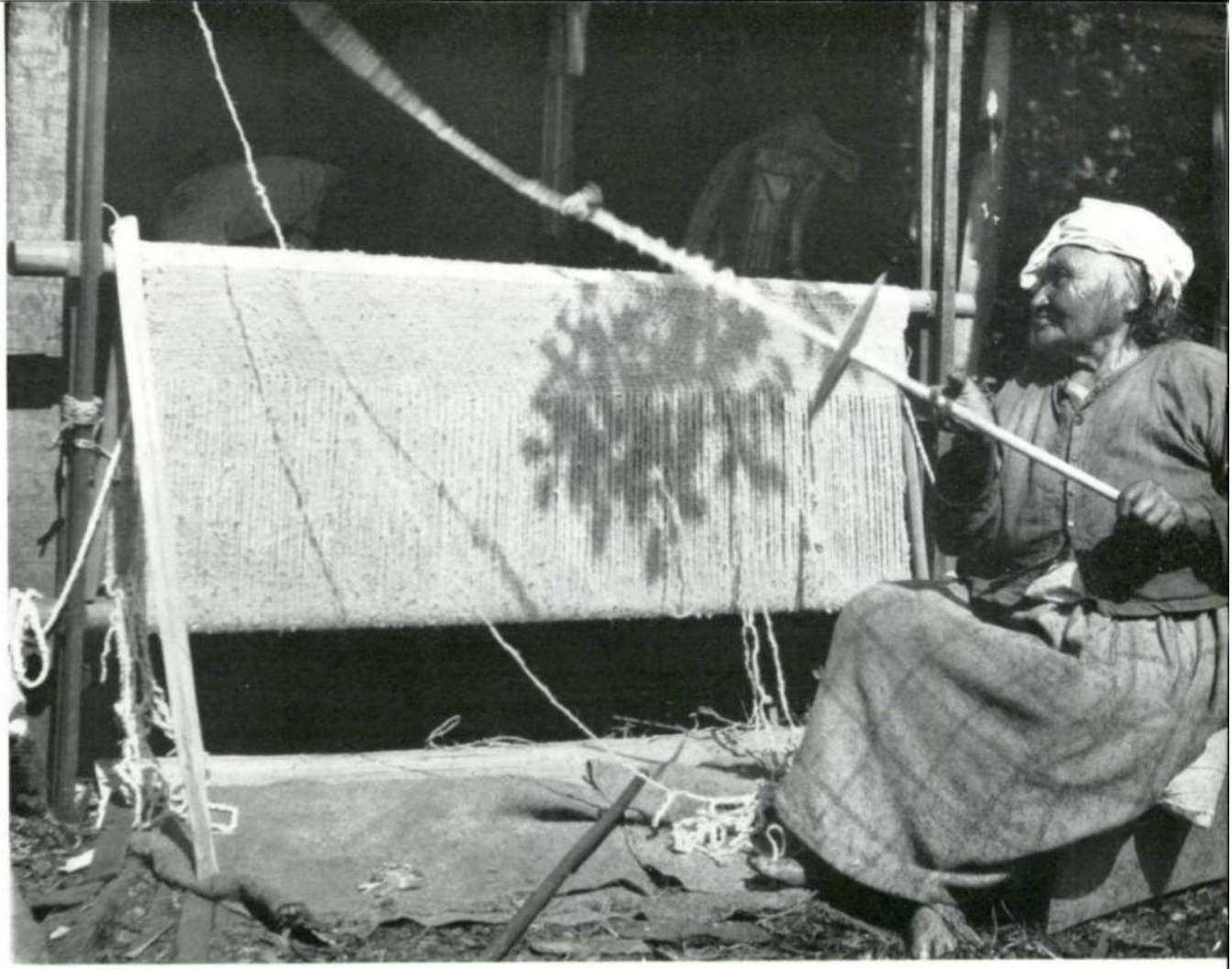
Mrs Lorenzetto, who had an elementary school education, had not seen goat-wool blankets made so she studied the weaves of old Salish blankets and read the published accounts. One was "Organized Salish Blanket Pattern" in the American Anthropologist by Mary Lois Kissell who spoke of the textile industry of the Salish tribes in the lower Fraser River area as "one of the most novel in North America". She wrote about the Salish "nobility blanket" (usually about 30 by 36 inches), and of at least four distinct types, one of which was made at Yale and one in the Fraser Delta. Another account in the same publication was by Charles C. Willoughby in which he described the technique of the Salish Blanket. There was also a leaflet "Woven Blankets of the Salish" put out by the Heye Foundation.

It was on such descriptions that Mrs Lorenzetto based her experiment and she was successful in weaving two small blankets, one using mountain goat wool, the other using sheep's wool.

Mrs Mary Peters, who does not speak English, has been affectionately referred to as "one who knows everything, because she never went to school". She is one of the few who retained the art of making the fine coiled basketry of the Fraser Canyon and Thompson tribes (her mother's people were from the Thompson). In her mind are clearly imposed the beautiful designs, traditionally those of her family, which she has taken from basketry to rug-making, an art she herself undertook to recreate in the fall of 1963. In a matter of months she

In 1846 Paul Kane painted this Coast Salish woman weaving a blanket of dog hair and mountain-goat wool. A shorn wool-dog sits by the loom and a woman in the background spins wool. ROYAL ONTARIO MUSEUM





Mrs George Johnnie of the Squamish tribe photographed in 1928 spinning mountain-goat wool which she is weaving into a blanket. NATIONAL MUSEUM

became proficient and completed three beautiful rugs.

Reference to the type of loom used and the manner of weaving was made by Professor Hill-Tout in *The Native Races of the British Empire, British North America*, 1907: "... they are woven upon a very simple loom which consists practically of an upper and lower cross- or yarn-bar. These yarn-bars are variously held in place. Sometimes they are tied, ... Sometimes, as among the Vancouver Island Salish, they are set in vertical posts which have slits or holes at intervals in them to permit of extending or reducing the length of the web."

Weaving is done with a shuttle or by fingers alone, working from the top down, and rolling the web over the bars or rollers as the web in front of the worker is completed.

The blankets which came under Hill-Tout's observation were made entirely of the twined weave in which the weft thread was tied "to the outermost warp filament in such a way that it is doubled, each end being wound upon a separate shuttle. One of these is passed over the warp filament and the other under, the threads are then twisted round each other and passed in the same manner over and under each successive filament till the last one is reached, when they are brought back again in the same way."

Hill-Tout then points out that "sometimes among the Salish more than one of the warp filaments is woven in at a time". He adds that, "The blankets of the notables of the tribes often had patterns worked in them in black and red, similar to those in the old basketry of this region".

When the Hudson's Bay Company established trading posts at Fort Langley in 1827 and a few years later at Fort Yale and Fort Hope, the fur and salmon trade brought a new way of life to the Coast Salish. Salmon which they could take in unlimited numbers, could be exchanged for trade blankets. In 1851, sixty fresh salmon would buy a blanket. In the great potlatches and blanket

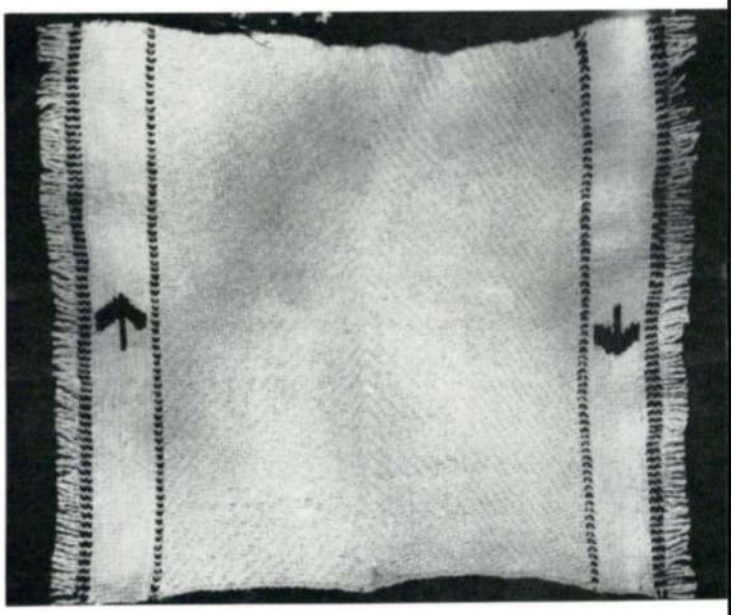
feasts the trade blanket soon replaced the native woven ones. The coming of the white man in the gold rush, and the missionaries' determination that the native must discard his old customs and dress were the final blows which stilled the fingers of the native women. Their ancient craft of loom weaving was gradually forgotten by succeeding generations.

In an effort to re-establish the craft among the Stalo people the writer prevailed upon Mrs Lorenzetto to make a goat-hair blanket. The loom she used is similar in construction to that described by Hill-Tout. It is four feet wide, with slots in the uprights to allow for rollers to be either two feet or four feet apart. Using the closer slots, Mrs Lorenzetto wound her warp strands around the two rollers in a continuous manner. This method required careful finishing of both ends of the blanket before the warp threads were cut to allow a fringe at the ends. Before beginning the blanket, Mrs Lorenzetto practised the various Salish weaves on a small loom about 12 inches square.

Each end of the blanket was finished with a 4-inch width of close-twined weaving, which was bordered by a decorative design woven into the web of the blanket with

Mrs Adeline Lorenzetto shows the small loom on which she did her experimental weaving.

The goat wool blanket made by Mrs Lorenzetto, who used a home made shuttle, and above, detail of the weave.



black wool. Between these weaves, the central portion of the blanket was in the old twilled weave, a somewhat looser weave. Both types of weaving were cleverly worked into a smooth web on the same warp threads.

The overall size of the blanket is 36 by 40 inches. Work was started with five pounds of washed goat wool plus a little naturally black wool for decorative use. On each panel of twined weave an arrow-head design in black and purple was worked into the web as weft material, making it visible from both sides.

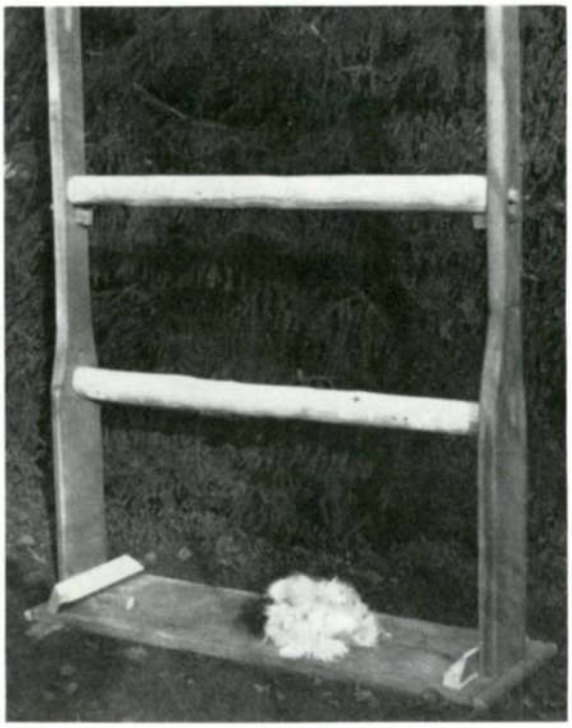
Mrs Peters' loom is of a slightly more rigid construction, in that the lower roller is fixed in a solid position, and only the upper roller can be wedged to tighten the warp when necessary. This loom also has a fixed cross-bar between the rollers. It was designed and made by Mrs Peters from memory of looms previously used by her family for rug-making. She undertook rug-making on her

own initiative, and the writer obtained her first rug for exhibition in Montreal. Her weaving is done entirely with the fingers on the face of the web, working downward across the full width of the warp.

The warp cords were placed on the loom with the use of an additional loom rod. The warp cord at its beginning and end was tied to this rod; then, as it was passed up and down, it alternately went over a roller, over the loom rod and back over the same roller. When the rug was finished, the loom rod was pulled out and the rug lay full length without having to cut the warp.

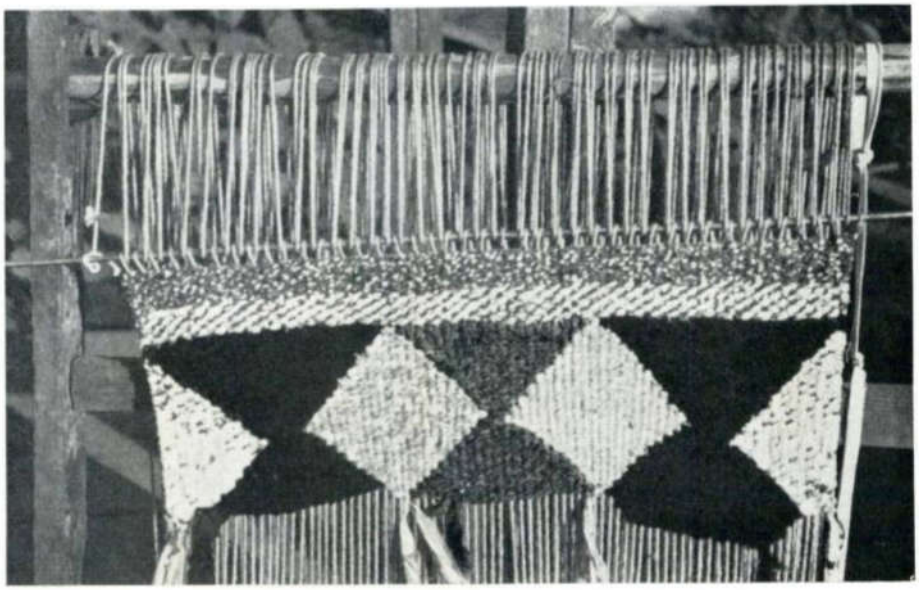
Mrs Peters used a twined weave at each end of her rug. In between is a twined weave in which each diamond of the pattern is worked separately, with two weft elements. In her first rug, the weave was left somewhat open between each row of diamond patterns. A second rug was made with a more complex pattern, in which the various diamond blocks were bound uniformly together. The material used was commercial twine for the warp, and strips of cotton material for the weft. Rugs measure about 20 by 42 inches. Her third rug, made with commercially spun wool with the pattern in squares, is a uniform twined weave throughout.

The last rug made by the Chilwheyuk band of the Chilliwack River known to the writer was made by Mrs David, an old-time rug maker, about 1920. It was made on a one-bar loom, the warp cords being held taut by weights tied to the lower ends. The warp of this rug had been made from threads of sacking material which had been unravelled and then spun, with the use of a spindle and whorl, into cord as thick as a pencil. The weft was made from strips of cotton dress material. Considerable pattern in colour was worked in wide or narrow bars across the web. The weave was twined throughout, and bound at the ends to prevent unravelling, by a special weave.



The loom on which Mrs Lorenzetto (left above) wove her goat wool blanket, with some of the unspun wool.

The fine woven work completed by Mrs Lorenzetto and Mrs Peters was featured in an exhibit of Salish Arts and Crafts sponsored by the Chilliwack Community Arts Council. And the two weavers were presented with engraved copper bracelets in recognition of their work in re-establishing this native art. Further recognition came to them when each received a first prize, for goat-wool blanket and cotton rug, respectively, at a handicraft exhibition in Montreal, at which Mrs Peters was also awarded a prize for the finest basket. ◆

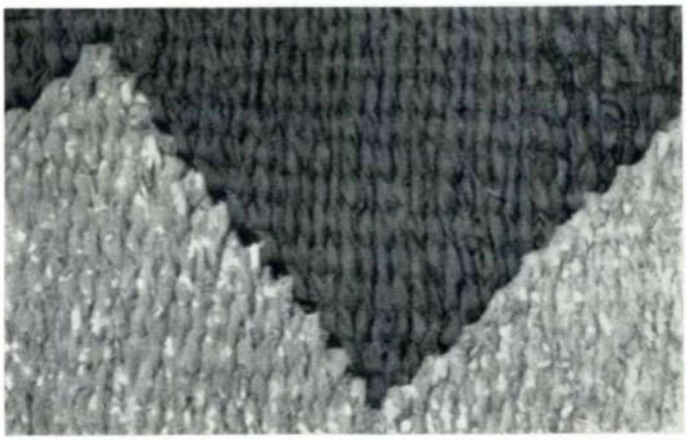


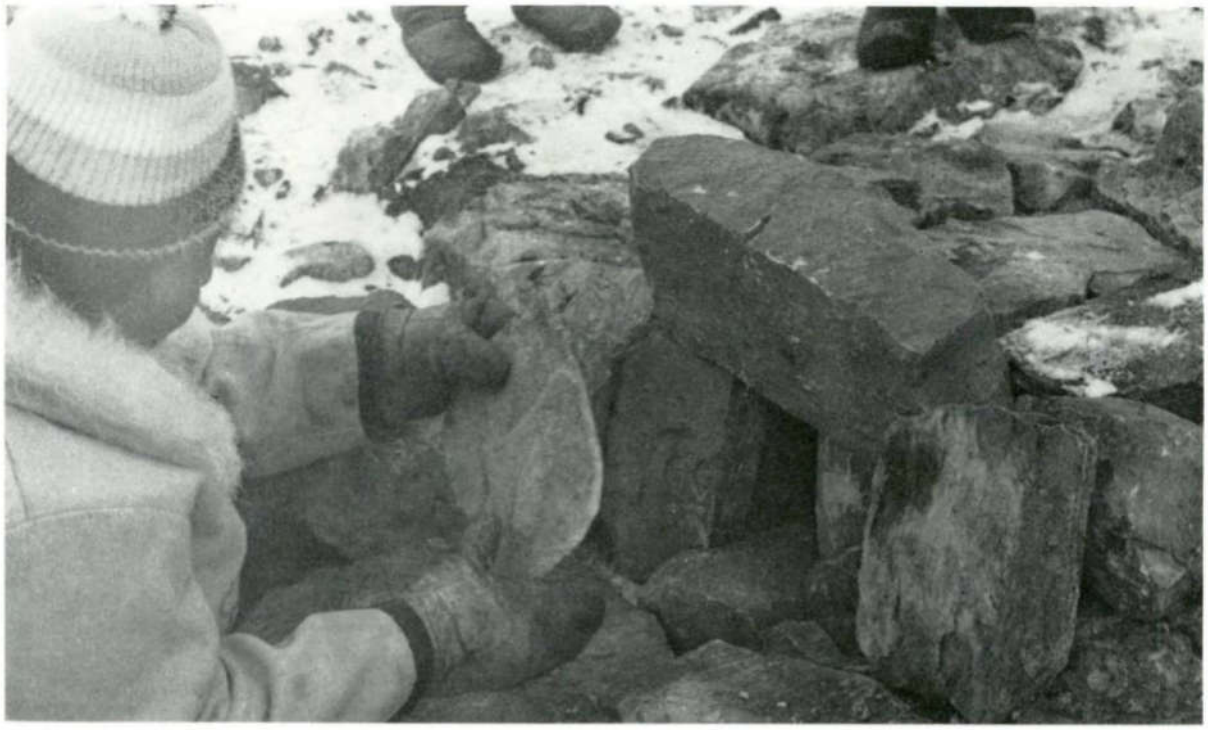
Mrs Mary Peters working at her loom on which she is finger-weaving a diamond patterned rug.

The top bar of the loom shows the method of stringing the warp with the use of a loom rod, following the plan of the traditional Salish loom string. When the work is completed and the rod withdrawn the warp falls apart without cutting. Note the two weft elements to each colour.

In this rug, of which a detail of the weave is shown, the warp is commercial twine and the weft or crossways weaving thread is composed of strips of cotton fabric.

PHOTOS BY THE AUTHOR UNLESS CREDITED





Stone Fox Trap

By Lorne Smith

"A LONG TIME AGO, before the Eskimos had steel traps, we used to catch our fox in stone traps. I am going to make a fox trap up behind the houses, because I have seen many fox tracks in the snow. I think that when the time comes that we can trap fox, I will be able to catch lots."

Attooat, one of the oldest female residents of Arctic Bay, was telling me her plans to catch some fox in the old style.

Next day, true to her word, Attooat puffed her way up the hill behind the settlement to the foot of the cliffs where there was a lot of broken rock. At over 200 pounds, and 72 years of age, it took her a while. But she showed the spirit and determination of any two people. She found a place where there were a great many rocks, and then the work began.

First, she selected a flat spot and made a room from large, roughly brick-shaped, stones. One end was left open, and at the other end a stick stuck out from the end wall. This would later hold the bait. Flat stones which formed the roof were weighted with larger stones.

At the open end, large stones were placed on either side of the "door". These were kept away from the house's end wall by rock spacers. In this way, an upright channel was formed that acted as a guide for a sliding drop door.

After much puffing and huffing and banging of rocks to shape them, and searching for rocks the right size and shape, the trap was completed. By this time there were many interested spectators, including myself. All of us were treated to explanations as to how the trap worked.

"The wire holds the door up because it is tied to the stick. The fox will smell the bait and come. Then he will go inside the trap and eat the bait from the stick. When he eats the bait, the wire will come off the stick. The wire goes up and over the roof then to the door. When the wire comes off the stick, the door will fall. The fox is inside. He cannot push the door open because the big rocks are too heavy. He cannot lift the door because his head is at the other end. He cannot turn around because the house is too narrow. Then I will have a fox to trade. Happy day!"

With the explanation completed, Attooat closed the door of the trap to keep the snow out. Then she got to her feet and made her way home.

When the season opens, she will return to bait the trap. I hope she gets some foxes. She has earned them. •

Mr Smith is the community teacher at Arctic Bay on northern Baffin Island.

Before winter sets in Attooat gathers and shapes stones and builds her fox trap.

When the trap is completed and ready for use the bait, seen in the interior view, is attached to the supporting stick on which the wire that holds the door open is fastened.

At the opening of the trapping season the trap is baited and set and Attooat is ready for her fox.

THE FALL OF FORT GARRY

BY FRED E. BARTLETT

TUESDAY, THE 2ND OF NOVEMBER, 1869, had grown into a fine warm day. A gentle breeze blew from the south, and the ice that had already formed over the Red and Assiniboine Rivers was breaking up and slushing downstream. Red River Settlement sat quietly in the Indian summer sun, and business at Fort Garry, the Hudson's Bay Company post on the northwest bank of the confluence of the two rivers, was being carried on as usual.

Anything else at Fort Garry would have been distinctly out of character. Though outwardly posing as a military installation, the fort had never been more than a place of business. It had seen no wars, withstood no sieges, and its martial significance had been lost for years on the eleven thousand local settlers. On this day in the fall of 1869 its gates stood open and unguarded, as they always did during the day, and horses, wagons, and pedestrians passed freely in and out. Seldom had the fort and its atmosphere less suggested armed conflict.

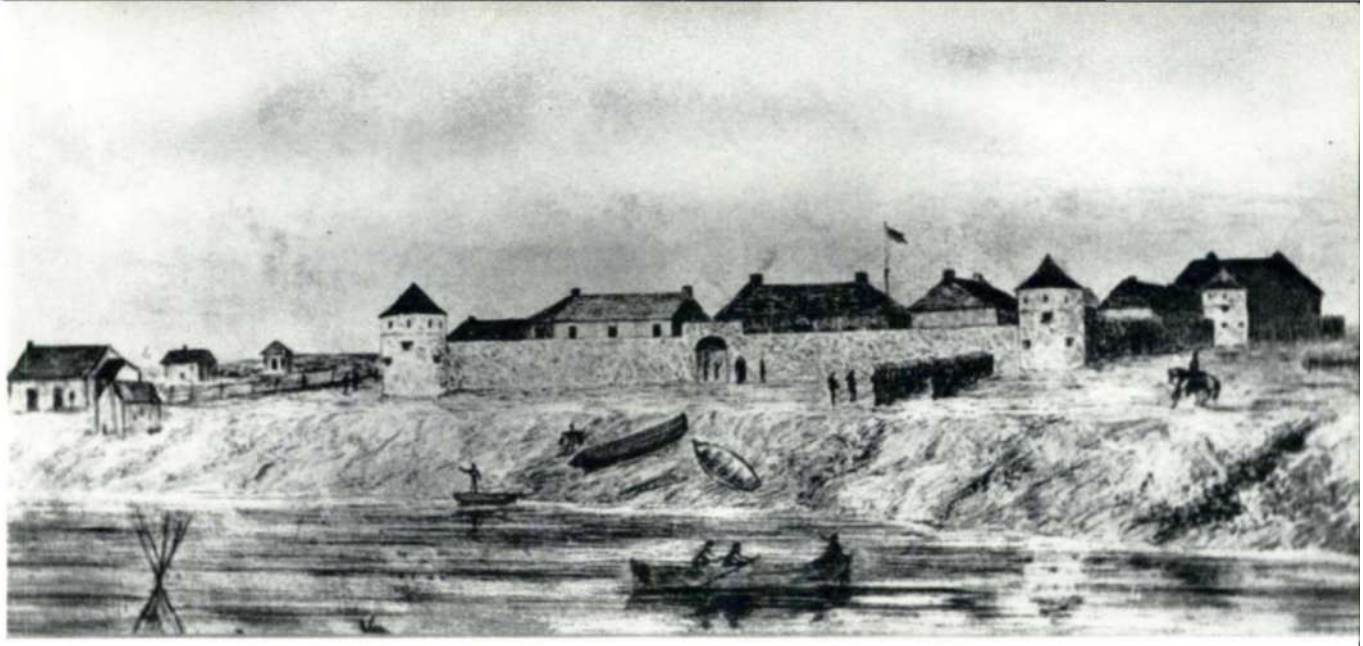
But up the dirt road that was the main highway between the settlement and the United States border was moving a rather disorganized but well-armed mob of Métis (of French-Canadian and Indian blood) buffalo hunters and tripmen—workers on the H B C boat and cart brigades. At their head was Louis Riel, a young Métis of limited experience and uncertain character but spell-binding eloquence. The procession little resembled a military force, and the arms all carried were nothing more than archaic single-shot muzzle loaders. But to the rest of Red River it was a disturbing sight. There was no force to oppose the oncoming horde, and the settlement as well as the territory's Indians had grown to respect Métis arms. The small group of Canadians in the town were particularly anxious, for the movement down the dirt road lent a new gravity to opposition by local residents to the transfer of the territory from the Hudson's Bay Company to the Dominion of Canada.

As the Métis neared the confluence of the Red and Assiniboine they were spotted. Rumours flew through the nearby village of Winnipeg that they were coming to attack the Canadians in the town. The rumours were false. Reaching the Assiniboine near its mouth at about three in the afternoon, they crossed the river in small groups on the rickety ferry operating at that point and, still in small groups, walked up the river bank and through the open gates of the fort, casually, as if contemplating nothing more than a normal business visit. Once inside, Riel posted guards at the gates and positioned the rest of his 120 men at strategic locations throughout the establishment.

Dr William Cowan, the competent, affable surgeon who was the officer in charge of the fort, was just returning from business in nearby Winnipeg when he saw some twenty armed men emerge from the fort's northwest gate. This was the private entrance of William Mactavish, the Governor of Assiniboia, and it was usually kept locked. Cowan asked the men what they were doing. He was told to see Riel. Riel said that circumstances forced the Métis to occupy the fort for two or three days, but that nothing would be touched and any provisions used would be paid for. Cowan told Riel to take his men and leave immediately. Riel refused, insisting instead on seeing Governor Mactavish. William Mactavish, gravely ill with tuberculosis, could not see the insurgent leader but sent a note telling him to get out of the fort. Riel continued to refuse and, as Cowan recorded in his diary, Mactavish saw he could do nothing about it. The Red River insurrection, after an unimpressive start, was fast assuming serious proportions.

The occupation of Fort Garry was the culmination of twelve years of political agitation in normally peaceful, isolated Red River Settlement. A trickle of incoming Canadians from the east beginning in the late 1850s had injected an altogether alien but increasingly strident air of political controversy into the settlement. Essentially, the agitation failed. Concentrating an attack during the 1860s on the government of the Hudson's Bay Company, and promoting annexation to Canada, the Canadians failed to arouse the politically lethargic English speaking halfbreeds who made up nearly half the population, and totally alienated the French speaking Métis who made up most of the other half. The Métis had seen the Com-

In the course of research on Governor Mactavish and the Red River Settlement Mr Bartlett was given permission by the Governor and Committee to consult the H B C archives which are among the sources drawn upon in this article.



The main entrance to Fort Garry facing the Assiniboine River, sketched in 1870 after the arrival of the Wolseley expedition sent to quell Riel.

pany as the protector of their interests and had undertaken on occasion to defend it. The Canadians had resorted to levelling gross insults at the Métis; at the same time they drew vivid verbal pictures of the dark fate facing Métis French Catholicism and semi-nomadic way of life as soon as annexation to Canada brought in a flood of English Protestants from Ontario.

But the Canadians, in attacking the Métis, had picked the wrong group to antagonize. These people were generally uneducated and usually docile. But the buffalo hunt had developed in them riding and shooting skill, the hunts and their work as tripmen had instilled an adventurous spirit, and their common Roman Catholicism gave them unity. All of this welded them into Red River's potentially most formidable fighting force. The local Canadians in taunting the Métis were asking for trouble, and trouble was precisely what they got.

Matters were brought to a head by a premature land survey by the Canadian Government and by the Canadian Government's appointing William McDougall of Ontario as the future North-West Territory's first lieutenant-governor. McDougall was a former Canadian Minister of Public Works, leader of the fight to annex the North-West to Canada, and notorious for his anti-Catholic, anti-French sentiments.

Louis Riel and the local Catholic clergy combined to raise a force from returning tripmen and buffalo hunters in mid-October 1869 to bar McDougall's entry into the settlement. The revolt grew, nurtured to some extent by vague general fears for French Catholic culture and tenuous land titles, but inspired mainly by anger and frustration at the Métis inability to prevent the impending triumph of their tormentors and bitter enemies, the Canadians. More and more tripmen and buffalo hunters joined the several road blocks raised south of the settlement on the highway to Pembina, Dakota Territory, down which McDougall and his party would have to travel to reach the settlement, and the uprising was on.

Governor Mactavish first learned of the road blocks fifteen miles south of Fort Garry through a deposition submitted by a settler named Walter Hyman. In spite of the illness that confined him to his bed, the Governor tried both through personal persuasion and through the local government, the Council of Assiniboia, to disperse the Métis, but to no avail. The Métis force blocking the highway now totalled over four hundred men. Little short of an armed force would get them to disperse, and an armed force Mactavish did not have.

The blockade was successful in its immediate aim. McDougall and his entourage pulled up at Pembina to await further developments. But winter was coming on, and Riel saw that if he was to sustain the uprising he would have to find shelter and provisions for his men. Furthermore, he saw that McDougall might be brought into the settlement by a roundabout route and enthroned in Fort Garry surrounded by the obnoxious "loyal" Canadians. All of these problems could be solved, the Métis leader soon realized, by a Métis occupation of Fort Garry. The fort would be easy enough to capture. It had no guard during the day, just a watchman at night. Riel's difficulty came in persuading the other Métis leaders that capturing the fort was necessary. Finally, however, just before starting his men on the march to the fort, he gained the Métis Council's consent.

The operation went smoothly, about as Riel had planned. But what, exactly, had the Métis captured? Certainly nothing too impressive from a military point of view. George B. Elliot, writing in 1874, described the

MANITOBA ARCHIVES

Dr William Cowan was Chief Trader in charge of Fort Garry in 1869 when Riel occupied the fort.

fort as a "harmless old stockade . . . hoary and venerable looking . . . and the bastions or towers look as if they seriously contemplated falling over, or tumbling into pieces, from old age." Its walls, Elliot went on, offered "but slight protection against rifles and howitzers, bombs, and other convincing projectiles."

Riel had no "howitzers, bombs, and other convincing projectiles" to contend with, and if the thirty-five-year-old fort was not impressive it was considerably better under the circumstances than no fort at all. It might not have deterred a regular military force, but Riel had no need to deter a military force, just local citizens, and they were to remain deterred throughout the uprising. In addition, the fort provided an excellent rallying point for the Métis, and was probably the only thing that enabled Riel to keep his force from fading away once the novelty of insurrection had worn off nearly everyone but himself. Furthermore, the fort contained large quantities of rifles, guns, ammunition, and, more important, great piles of provisions, provisions that were to become the lifeblood of the uprising.

In short, Riel had captured the means to sustain his rebellion. Without the fort, the Red River insurrection would almost surely have been short-lived. The ease with which the fort fell, therefore, stimulated a good deal of discussion then and later. Isaac Cowie, a Company employee stationed at Fort Qu'Appelle at the time, said he felt disgraced. Others were indignant to the point of inaccuracy; a "Red River Loyalist" wrote to the *Globe:*

> When Riel's army was seen marching down to occupy Fort Garry their object was suspected, and the clerks begged permission to shut the gates, but it was promptly refused by Dr. Cowan under the orders from their chief.

Others made such statements as:

> The Hudson's Bay Company officials, I believe, knew the people were rising, and they took no steps to put them down. They also knew that Riel and others were coming to take the fort, and they did not close the gates. They also refused the assistance of persons willing to assist in opposing his entrance.

And:

> Mr. Mulligan, a Pensioner, and a Police Constable in Winnipeg, told me that he had warned the Hudson Bay Company, on several occasions, that the half-breeds were to rise. This he did, through Judge Black and Dr. Cowan, and suggested that the Pensioners be called out to guard the Fort, but that they declined doing anything in the matter.

The general drift of the accusations was that Governor Mactavish, Cowan, and chief judge John Black, who on occasion was Acting Governor, could easily have stamped out the rebellion had they not voluntarily given up the easily-defended fort. Furthermore, the argument goes, Mactavish and the others were warned beforehand of Métis designs on the fort. Three warning devices are named, one of which was the deposition made by Hyman on October 22nd regarding the road blocks. The second warning device was supposedly a pensioner and constable named James Mulligan. A third was another pensioner named Michael Power. William McDougall, cooling his heels at Pembina, summed up the accusation:

> . . . I have the positive assurance of Major Wallace, who has just returned from Fort Garry, as well as the statements of the "friends of Canada," that the Company's Officers in charge of Fort Garry were told of the intention of the Rebels to take the Fort the day before it occurred, and that Chief Constable Mulligan, who is an old soldier, offered to raise a force partly composed of "pensioners," with which he declared he could hold the Fort against all the Rebels who would be likely to attack it, but he was told by Dr. Cowan, the Officer in charge, that his services were not wanted.

But McDougall, suffering from unreliable informants, as well as monumental arrogance and incredibly poor judgment, was often mistaken during his stay in Pembina. None of the supposed warning devices survive close examination and reliable testimony. The Hyman deposition made no mention of Fort Garry, confining its remarks entirely to the road blocks. Power said that his offer was made after the fall of the fort. And Mulligan, according to the separate statements of Mactavish, Cowan, and Black, gave no warning of the Métis intention to capture the fort. Mactavish said later that "I have to deny that Dr. Cowan or myself had any reason to entertain suspicion of a seizure of Fort Garry previous to its occurrence." Cowan and Black said much the same thing. Mactavish said Mulligan and Power had called on Cowan offering to expel the French after they had

taken the fort. When Cowan asked them what force they would expel them with, Mulligan was silent but Power said something about needing only one man to raise the British flag and another to stand below and defend it. There being over two hundred armed Métis in the fort at the time, Cowan declined the offer. Later, another old pensioner named Sergeant Rickards, powered by liquid stimulants, attempted to carry out what Mulligan and Power had offered to do, but he and his flag were unceremoniously routed.

While denying that the Fort Garry officers had previous knowledge of the attempt to be made on the fort, Mactavish went on to infer that they would not have tried to defend it even if they had been warned. Mactavish pointed out that they were powerless to prevent the fort's capture, for they had no one to call on for help. During the preceding decade of agitation by the local Canadians the Company's government had been virtually isolated. The Canadians, through their newspaper, the *Nor'-Wester*, as well as through petitions and various acts of lawlessness, had vehemently denied the Company's right to govern the territory. The Scots and the English halfbreeds, congenital bystanders, held aloof, supporting neither the Canadians nor the Company. The Company's only offer of support had come from the Métis, and Mactavish and the Council of Assiniboia had been reluctant to avail themselves of it for fear of starting a racial and religious war between the two groups that made up most of the settlement. The stalemate thus created enabled the local Canadians on three occasions in the 1860s to form armed mobs that freed fellow Canadian annexation supporters from jail when the latter had been put there for entirely justifiable reasons—namely, attempted abortion, assaulting an officer, and instituting a jail break. The rebellion and the capture of the fort by the group that constituted the Company's only supporters left the Company's government with no support at all.

From the outset of the rebellion the English speaking halfbreeds and the Scottish took the position that the Métis uprising was none of their business. They said they had not asked to be taken over by Canada, they had not been consulted in the transfer, and so they did not propose to risk their own necks by opposing Riel with force. "When you present to us the issue of a conflict with the French party, with whom we have hitherto lived in friendship . . . we feel disinclined to enter upon it, and think that the Dominion should assume the responsibility of establishing amongst us what it, and it alone, has decided upon" expressed their view.

Not even the oft-mentioned 'pensioners' would have provided the answer. The pensioners were a group of retired soldiers stationed in the settlement by the British Government some twenty years before for some vague reason connected with maintaining law and order and protecting the settlement from Indian attack. They had never been impressive militarily, however, and by 1869 were nothing more than a group of twenty-six old, worn out men, many of them invalids. They were of no use whatever militarily, and furthermore had in the 1860s repeatedly refused to acknowledge the Company's right to command them to take up arms during civil disturbances.

In short, Mactavish and the officers at Fort Garry had nothing to defend the fort with. But even if they had, they would have needed time to mobilize it, and the fort's capture obviously caught them by surprise. They would have had no reason to suspect that the Métis road blocks would be followed by the taking of Fort Garry. No one before had been interested in capturing the post. Through the 1860s armed mobs had surged into the fort to protest one thing or another, then surged right out again. There had been no reason to try to capture the fort, of course, but neither was it plain in the fall of 1869 that there was reason for its capture. During the early part of the rebellion the rest of the settlement did not even take the uprising seriously: "At first the English and the Scottish were disposed to notice mainly what was ridiculous and absurd in the proceedings of Riel." It is only hindsight that lends an aura of inevitability to the attempt on the

In the Fort Garry enclosure. The back of the governor's residence is seen beyond the fence at the rear.

fort and leads some historians to assume that Fort Garry's officers should have foreseen the event even if they had not been warned.

Arguments that the fort's officers had been warned are forced to rely entirely on the testimony of James Mulligan, whose reputation for veracity is not only unestablished but questionable. Mulligan began by claiming to be the "Chief of the Police Force," with two men under him, when in fact he was not the chief of police, merely an ordinary constable, and he had no men under him. He went on in his deposition to claim to have predicted with undeviating accuracy all early phases of the uprising, including the rebellion generally, the road blocks, the attempt on Fort Garry, and the overthrow of the government. And he claimed to have repeatedly warned the government of them.

His remarkable foresight stood alone, however, and went universally unrecognized, which is odd in itself. It would be reasonable to expect Mulligan, rebuffed by Cowan and Mactavish, to have at least given his fellow members of the Canadian party the benefit of his clairvoyance, but if he did they ignored it too. John Christian Schultz, the leader of the Canadians, continued for some time after the road blocks were set up to ridicule the idea of matters becoming serious. And the local Canadians, a noisy little group peculiarly addicted to mock heroics, made no rush to defend the fort from a predicted attack. Mulligan, it would seem, either had a fertile imagination or was indeed a prophet unhonoured.

On the other hand, the denials of Mactavish, Cowan, and Black that Mulligan had given warning are supported by numerous testimonials to their integrity. Furthermore, a thorough examination of their correspondence and actions both before the insurrection and during it leaves little room for doubting their word.

Neither is there any sound basis for the suggestion that the Company's North American officers, alienated by Canadian agitation and Company policy, willingly permitted the fort to fall. The Company intended to keep for itself, without sharing with the fur trade officers, the £300,000 pounds it was to receive for releasing its rights in the North-West to Canada. This undoubtedly left the fur trade officers disgruntled, but there is a total lack of evidence supporting the theory that the Fort Garry officers willingly acquiesced in, or encouraged, the Métis occupation of the fort. And the theory is overwhelmingly contradicted by evidence that has come to light.

In any case, the fort fell without a shot being fired. Its fall, however, continued to reverberate through the settlement during the ensuing winter, and through Canada to this very day. It was a move that by November 23rd, when Riel confiscated the government's books, had brought an end to the rule of the Government of Assiniboia. And since it considerably prolonged the rebellion the capture of the fort eventually led to the execution by Riel of Thomas Scott, the Canadian Orangeman, leaving a heritage of discord in the settlement and in the country at large. In the end, then, the fall of Fort Garry made possible events that revived and dramatized the conflict between English and French Canada and provided the new Dominion with one of the more striking historical factors dividing the nation. ◆

A group of Metis such as those who barred the way to McDougall.

TALES OF CHIKAPASH

told by Thomas Rupert to George W. Bauer

While teaching at Fort George on James Bay, George Bauer recorded legends and folk stories told by the village elders. Thomas, a coaster aged 77, heard these stories of Chikapash from his father. They were taped in Cree, in the company of two other men who would check errors or omissions, and the tales were then played back and translated into English with the help of another Cree, Robert Kanatewat.

ONE DAY, when the weather was not suitable for hunting, Chikapash sat inside the wigwam thinking. Some time later, he said to his sister: "How did we come into being? Did we have parents?"

"Don't be foolish," she replied. "Of course we had parents but they were killed by an enormous monster called Kotchichidosk."

"What colour hair did our mother and father have?" the boy asked.

"Our mother's hair was brown and our father's black," she answered.

Without saying more, Chikapash took his bow and arrows and left the wigwam. As he travelled farther and farther through the forest, he began singing of hunting Kotchichidosk. All of the many creatures that dwelt in the forest came to Chikapash upon hearing the boastful words of his song. They came to him from beneath the roots of trees, from the branches of trees, and from behind the very trees themselves. Creatures came to him from the heavens above, beating their wings upon the winds, and they came from the depths of water, and each asked what right he had to sing so boastfully.

"Have you ever hunted anything larger than a squirrel?" they asked.

Chikapash said he had not.

"Do you see that tamarack tree?" one of the creatures asked. "That's how strong Kotchichidosk is. Certainly a boy your size could never hope to match such strength."

Chikapash strung his bow, notched an arrow, and shot. The arrow sped straight to its mark, knocking the tree down, so swift was its flight.

"Ah," another creature said, "but Kotchichidosk is really far stronger than that. Do you see that mountain whose top stands high above the tamarack? Kotchichidosk is as strong as that."

Chikapash straightened the feathers of a second arrow, notched it, and shot. The arrow sped straightaway. Half of the mountain disappeared when it hit.

There was a great deal of buzzing among the creatures. Many spoke softly in admiration. The creatures now agreed that here was a boy to contend with. There could be no denying what they had seen with their own eyes.

When Kotchichidosk saw what the boy could do, he ran for his life. By the time Chikapash saw Kotchichidosk, the monster was nearly out of sight. He quickly notched a third arrow and shot. "Fly straight my arrow," he called after the missile.

Chikapash walked to the dead monster, and found him split lengthwise by his arrow. He took his knife and cut open the monster's guts. There he found a hard ball of hair, both brown and black. He decided to keep the black hair, and give the brown hair to his sister.

When he reached home, he told his sister that he had killed the monster that had killed their mother and father.

"Are you sure?" asked his sister. "You have never killed anything larger than a squirrel."

"Yes," he said, "I am sure. Go see for yourself. I have brought one of the monster's ears with me. It is so large that we could use it for a door."

CHIKAPASH WALKED THROUGH the forest one day hunting squirrels. The day was brilliant, and the boy exhilarated. He sang softly.

Upon spotting a squirrel in the branches of a tree high above, he shot, but the sun glaring in his eyes flawed his aim. He missed and the arrow embedded itself in the tree, far from reach. Chikapash set his bow aside, and reaching for the first branch, began climbing up toward his arrow. As he climbed higher he found that by blowing upon its trunk the tree grew in length and breadth. Surprised, he blew again and again, and with each breath the tree grew until, finally, Chikapash found himself in the very heavens. He saw a strange, new earth nearby. It was the moon.

Leaving his perch, Chikapash began exploring this strange place. He walked softy for it was quiet here: the rush of winds had been stilled. He walked absently, looking curiously at his new surroundings, and as he walked he found numerous squirrel tracks wherever he looked. He saw more squirrel tracks than he had ever before seen. That did it. He would make his home here, in the

heavens. His decision made, Chikapash returned to earth once more to tell his sister and the two girls what he had found.

"Don't be crazy," his sister said. "We'll never be able to climb up there."

"Yes we can," the boy said. "So let's pack a few things and go."

"No," his sister insisted. "We can't possibly make it. Don't be such a foolish boy."

But Chikapash was not one to be put off so easily.

"Yes we can," he argued. "If you do as I tell you. You three climb the tree first, but don't look back. I'll follow you."

In the end, Chikapash won, and the four began climbing, leaving the earth far behind. When they had climbed about half way to the moon the women became dizzy and fell. The boy caught them with one hand, holding firmly to the tree with the other.

When they finally reached the moon the three women set up their wigwam, while Chikapash took his bow and arrows to hunt squirrels for the pot. Some time later he happened upon a well worn path. He wondered who used the path because it was very large and well worn. "I'll just wait here and find out," he thought.

Chikapash settled himself across the path and it wasn't long before he heard a great rumbling. It was the sun. When the sun saw the boy lying across his path he said: "Get out of my way because I never stop."

"Walk over me," the boy said.

"Get out of my way," the sun said.

"Walk over me," the boy insisted.

Because the sun was unable to stop, he walked over the boy, nearly roasting him. The heat was so intense that Chikapash lost consciousness, and when finally he awoke he saw that his clothing had been badly burnt. He became very angry.

"Just you wait," he called after the sun. "I'll get you for this. See if I don't."

The sun continued on its way not heeding the boy.

Chikapash went directly to the wigwam, already scheming revenge. When his sister saw him, she asked: "What foolishness have you been up to now? Just look at your clothing!"

He did not answer, but asked, instead, if she could offer him something fit for use as snare wire. She offered a number of things but none were suitable until she pulled a hair from her body.

"Yes," said Chikapash. "That will do."

"But don't run it between your teeth," she cautioned.

Ignoring her, he ran the hair between his teeth, making fine, strong wire of it. He returned to the sun's well-beaten path and set a snare. When he had finished, he went back to the wigwam and fell asleep. There was never night at this time, only day, as the sun travelled tirelessly in its path. The three women remained awake, going about their chores. Suddenly it became dark. Alarmed, the women ran to Chikapash to awaken him.

"Look at what has happened," they said. "There is no light."

"Good," said Chikapash. "That must be my snare."

"Good!" his sister protested. "What no good have you been up to now?"

Chikapash rose from his sleeping robe and went to the snare. Sure enough, the sun was struggling to free himself. He shouted terrible things at the boy.

The boy now realized for the first time what a grave mistake he had made in snaring the sun. He realized that no one could live in continual darkness, so he immediately sent for all the creatures that lived on the moon, hoping to find one that could break the snare wire, to set the sun free. Each creature tried, but in vain, because as soon as they approached the sun they burnt to a cinder. There was finally but one creature left—a small field mouse. Chikapash told the mouse that he was their remaining hope.

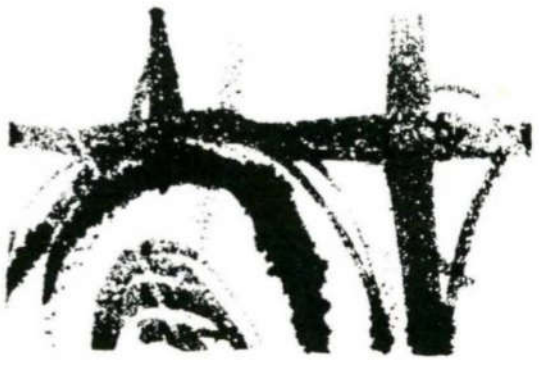
"We will perish if you fail," Chikapash said. "You must succeed."

With this, Chikapash blew on the mouse, sending him arching through the air. The mouse landed on the snare wire and immediately it snapped. Freed, the sun continued along its path, bringing light to creation once more.

"That is how it will be from this time on," Chikapash said. "Darkness will be relieved by the light of day. In the long years ahead, men will roam the earth below, hunting, trapping and snaring and fishing by net to sustain themselves. These things they will think upon during the long nights, laying their plans and strategies in darkness, and they will also rest in sleep, preparing for the hard work that follows in the light of day."

If Chikapash had not snared the sun we would never have known darkness. He can be seen up there to this day, when the moon is full, hunched over his cooking fire, carefully stirring the brimming pot before him.

Thomas, who told me this story, said he has heard that white men are trying to reach the moon with their rockets. He wonders if we realize that his people long ago told a story of Chikapash reaching the moon in his own extraordinary way. He wonders, too, with a chuckle, if upon reaching the moon we will find Chikapash. ◆



NORTHERN BOOKS

MINNESOTA AND THE MANIFEST DESTINY OF THE CANADIAN NORTHWEST

By Alvin C. Gluek, Jr. University of Toronto Press, Toronto. 1965. 311 pages, maps, index. $7.50.

Reviewed by Hartwell Bowsfield

The great central plains of the Canadian prairies, separated from eastern Canada by the extended region of forest and rock north of Lake Superior, appeared to many observers in the 1860s to have a closer affinity to the American territory to the south than to the British provinces in the east. The centres of population closest to the people of the Red River Settlement were in Minnesota. The most practical route for exports and imports was neither by way of Hudson Bay nor across the Great Lakes system but through St Paul and each year trade through the American route increased. In 1859, the S.S. *Anson Northup* arrived at Fort Garry and a new era of prosperity seemed to be opening for the people of the Settlement and the economic community of St Paul.

American observers were convinced that if the British North West could be made further dependent for transportation and trade upon St Paul a vast undeveloped area of agricultural land would eventually be forced to join politically with the United States. Particularly after the failure to renew the Reciprocity Treaty and the purchase of Alaska there was an outspoken American desire to occupy the territory between Minnesota and the new possession.

Other North American empire builders, however, had been equally stimulated by the mission of Manifest Destiny. In the 1850s, Canadian politicians, editors, and railway builders were preaching the doctrine of a British possession stretching from the Atlantic to the Pacific. The first step in the extension of Canadian territory westward was the acquisition of the vast territories granted to the Hudson's Bay Company in 1670. It was the sale of this land to Canada in 1869 that occasioned the outbreak of disturbances in the Red River Settlement and lighted the hope of annexation in American minds.

It is the failure of the United States to counteract Canadian westward expansion which constitutes the theme of Professor Gluek's work. The outline of his study is an obvious and natural treatment: the establishment of the Red River Settlement, the advance of the Minnesota frontier, the American expansionist movement, the Canadian reaction, and the Red River disturbances. Parts of this story will be familiar to readers of *The Canadian Historical Review* and *The Beaver*, several sections having appeared earlier in these publications. Other parts, *e.g.*, the free trade movement in the Red River Settlement, the development of Canadian interest in the North West Territories are repetition of well-known episodes though essential to the theme and unity of the narrative.

There are, however, many distinctive contributions in Prof. Gluek's work. The details he has gathered from Minnesota sources provide the most complete evaluation yet written of the economic attachment developed between St Paul and the Red River Settlement. He has outlined carefully the attack made by Norman Kittson on the fur trade monopoly of the Hudson's Bay Company and pointed out the significance of what he calls the transportation revolution of the 1850s—the changing pattern of trade based on steamboat and railway developments in the United States. No less important is the use he has made of source material in Washington (in particular the Hamilton Fish diaries) in reflecting the attitudes of officials of the American Administration toward the expansionist pressure movement that was centred in Minnesota.

The question which Prof. Gluek attempts to determine is why the North West Territories remained British. His answer is twofold: first, the American Administration, though expansionist-minded, was not prepared to risk war to acquire the territory; second, John A. Macdonald was the superior diplomat. "Superiority" in the Prime Minister is perhaps a compliment too easily attributed considering the negative approach of American policy. Nevertheless, success carries its own compliment, and, though Gluek's answers will undoubtedly continue to serve well as a standard for discussion, many will question such broad explanations as "Canada lent greater and more meaningful support to its expansionists than did the United States" or, "Canada moved energetically and skilfully to secure the Northwest" and hers "was the more purposeful, moralist, and aggressive position". Support, energy, and "aggression" were evident only at the point of rebellion in the North West and whether skill was applied at that moment is disputable. Prof. Gluek's answers, satisfactory as they are, lie wholly within his self-assigned political framework. His intention was not beyond that. Yet, is the question he asks fully answered before some assessment is made of such factors as the religious and educational content of Red River life and their significance in the maintenance of a British connection?

Prof. Gluek, throughout a carefully controlled and admirably organized study, has developed his theme with precision and forceful writing. His judgment of individuals is bold, incisive, and often colourful—*e.g.*, William McDougall was "an imperturbable egotist who was forever standing on ceremony and acting without common sense"; William Kennedy, an agent of the Canadian expansionist movement, entered the Hudson's Bay Company's domain "as if he were a *mêtis* in Sioux country".

To the history of Canadian-American relations and to the history of his native State of Minnesota Prof. Gluek has contributed a carefully and thoroughly researched study which is both informative and readable.

Mr Bowsfield is archivist for the Province of Manitoba.

EMPEROR OF THE PEACE

By Eugenie L. Myles. Institute of Applied Art Ltd., Edmonton, 1965. 310 pages, clothbound $5.00, paperbound $3.75

THE LAST SUMMER, Memories of the Peace River Country

By Rex Holmes. Baxter Publishing Co., Toronto, 1965. 178 pages, illus. by Jean Redfern. $5.95

Reviewed by J. G. MacGregor

This book about Sheridan Lawrence, who for over fifty years farmed at Fort Vermilion, is another contribution to Alberta's history. Because Mrs Myles knows the Peace

River country so intimately and because she must have taken such careful pains to extract every last item of the story from Mrs Lawrence, who fortunately is still so keen of mind, *Emperor of the Peace* is both accurate and interesting.

As young people, in 1886, Sheridan Lawrence and Juey Scott accompanied their parents to Fort Vermilion on the Lower Peace River. Though travelling separately, both families left the railway at Calgary in the spring of 1886 and set out on their 900 mile trip to the remote Anglican mission in Northern Alberta where Sheridan's father was to be a farming instructor employed by the church. Three hundred miles by wagon and cart brought both parties through the hamlet of Edmonton with its 300 people and along the newly-cut Athabasca Trail to the few shacks that made up Athabasca Landing. From there, travelling by water where possible, they went on to the Anglican mission on Buffalo Bay, whence they set out over the muddy 100-mile portage trail to the one lonely shack that comprised Peace River Crossing. Then, making rafts, they swept down the Peace River some 200 miles to Fort Vermilion.

In 1900 Sheridan and Juey were married. While fifteen children were born to them, Sheridan developed the farm to a major enterprise, milled his own wheat, and with the flour supplied much of the Far North. He also set up several trading posts in the area between Fort Vermilion and Great Slave Lake. By all odds the largest operator and the foremost leader along the Lower Peace, he came to be called the "Emperor of the Peace", and after his death was honoured by the Historic Sites and Monuments Board of Canada.

The author writes well, using clear English, and fortunately resisted any temptation to spoil the book by grasping for heart-throbs. It may be, indeed, that the account is too factual or at least too detailed, and that the book might have been improved by eliminating some of the minutiae. Unfortunately, as the reader will soon discover, the draftsman made an error in mapping the Lawrence's route to Fort Vermilion.

What a strange, nostalgic, sometimes morbid, little book *The Last Summer* is.

As the author says, it has no plot and it does not tell a story. It is said to deal with the Peace River country but it does that only inadvertently because during the Hungry 30s the author spent eleven of his observant boyhood years on a farm near Pouce Coupe. It does not touch on the majesty, the mystery or even the history of the Peace River country but is rather a man's memories of his boyhood on a bush homestead. That homestead could have been anywhere at the edge of the vast forests which, starting in Manitoba and sweeping west to the mountains, form the north boundary of Canada's parklands. For this reason, it should not be regarded as a book about the Peace River country.

As a man's memories, however, it expresses the nostalgia everyone feels for those days which can never come again, and as such, parts of it are enjoyable reading when one gets at them. That takes some doing, however, perhaps because the author, filled with a worthwhile sentiment and being a bit of a poet, sometimes flies a little high. For instance, how could running water remind animals that their lives are short?

The very fact that the book has been written, however, demonstrates that the homesteaders of that era included many families having a great range of talents.

Noted Alberta historian, Mr MacGregor has written many books about pioneer days in that province, among them "Edmonton Trader" and "Land of Twelve-Foot Davis".

THRUST AND COUNTERTHRUST

By H. George Classen. Longmans Canada Limited, Don Mills, Ont., 1965. 386 pages, $7.50.

Reviewed by N. L. Nicholson

Once in every fifteen or twenty years it seems, someone rediscovers the intriguing events connected with the establishment of the political boundaries of Canada as they exist today. Often, it is a "new Canadian," in the process of learning about the political makeup of his new environment, who makes the rediscovery. George Classen is such a person. Born in Russia of German ancestry and married to an Argentinian, he came to Canada in 1950. The great advantage of this is that old events are periodically re-examined from a different viewpoint.

In *Thrust and Counterthrust*, Mr Classen has confined his attention to the Canada-United States boundary, the only national limits of Canada which have been demarcated. The responsibility, in Canada, for the maintenance of the devices which demarcate these boundaries has, since 1949, rested with the Federal Department of Mines and Technical Surveys and the libraries of this department contain a wealth of books, pamphlets, maps and other records relating to their origin and genesis. As Mr Classen has been employed by the department since 1959 he has had a unique opportunity of working with these documents. He has evidently made great use of this opportunity, judging by *Thrust and Counterthrust*.

The structure of the book is simple. It merely follows the boundary from the Atlantic to the Pacific and across Alaska to the Arctic – a procedure used by the International Boundary Commission in the publication of its excellent series of reports on the survey and demarcation of the boundary. The chapters in the book generally follow the sections embraced by the Commission volumes. Chapter 1, for instance, entitled "Bugles on the St. John," deals with the boundary from the Atlantic Ocean to the St Lawrence River which is covered by two of the International Boundary Commission volumes: the Atlantic Ocean to the St Croix River and the St Croix River to the St Lawrence River. Indeed, one cannot help but feel that the three pages entitled "Note on boundary demarcation," curiously sandwiched between the Foreword and Chapter 1, were perhaps intended as a tribute to the boundary surveyors. There seems to be no other reason for their inclusion and the Table of Contents chooses not to list them!

But Mr Classen's chapters and style differ greatly from those of the International Boundary Commission. The latter are, quite properly, prosaic, matter of fact and technical. They hardly mention some of the historical anecdotes connected with boundary evolution or they ignore them completely. *Thrust and Counterthrust* attempts to put this right. It dwells on the human stories and brings them to life with as many details of the individuals concerned as is possible. Much of Chapter 2, for example, is devoted to Captain Cameron, who was eventually appointed British Commissioner on the survey from the Great Lakes to the Rocky Mountains. His story, and the political patronage involved in his appointment, makes interesting reading. It continues in the chapter on "Panhandle Problems" (the Alaska Boundary) and concludes with his directorship of the Royal Military

College at Kingston. The ways of life of the survey parties also emerge from from the pages of the book. These often arose from their attitudes to their environment; the reaction of the British on seeing the prairies, for instance, was to feel that they were "at sea" while "to the Americans the survey was another foray into hostile Indian lands."

There is little that is new concerning the boundaries themselves. Even some of the anecdotes are quite "old hat." Such is the stealing, by the American sheriff of Whatcom county, of sheep belonging to the Hudson's Bay Company, on San Juan Island and the subsequent "pig-killing" incident. But the author admits that this is not a history for historians. The "historians history" of the boundaries is probably best considered in a larger context than the author has chosen. This was done by Hugh Keenleyside, a professional historian who was to become the Deputy Minister of the government department out of which Mines and Technical Surveys grew, and whose book, *Canada and the United States*, Mr Classen has not seen fit to mention in his bibliography. Equally notable is the omission from the bibliography of Bruce Hutchison's *The Struggle for the Border* which was first put out by the same publishers as *Thrust and Counterthrust* as recently as 1955. It is unfortunate that the author uses his "layman's approach" as a reason for omitting the detailed references to his "copious quotations." Had the references been included, they might have whetted the appetite of some of his readers to turn to the original sources and seek out more of the delectable stories for themselves. As it is, there is no way of checking the authenticity of his "utterings of historical figures" or, what is more important, the reliability of their source. If it was entertainment the author was seeking to provide (or to use his own word, "enjoyment") he might have done better to have paraphrased his quotations and so exercised more fully the wry humour which he occasionally demonstrates in the book. He certainly has no compunction about changing the chronological order of events, for instance, in order to achieve dramatic effect.

But there are apparently few errors of historical fact. There is the repeated reference to Rupert's Land as being the Hudson's Bay Company's territory *west* of the Great Lakes when the original charter of 1670 makes it quite clear that this was the name of the whole of their lands. There is also the section dealing with gold in northern British Columbia which gives the false impression that the gold rush began in the early 1870s. Actually the rush to the Stikine was at least a decade earlier. Stickeen Territory was established in 1862 and gold mining on that river and its tributaries was virtually over by 1863 when the present province of British Columbia was formed. But on the other hand, *Thrust and Counterthrust* cannot be dismissed as a "journalistic piece" either. It is clearly the work of a person of scholarly mien delighting in the lore of a country which is often regarded as having none.

Dr Nicholson is senior professor in the department of geography at the University of Western Ontario.

CLOUD WALKERS

By Paddy Sherman. Macmillan of Canada, 1965. 161 pages, illus., maps, $4.95

Reviewed by Margaret D. Fleming

The author of this book has first-hand knowledge of the areas described from Mount Logan in the Yukon to Mount Slesse in southern British Columbia and he knows personally many of the climbers whose adventures he relates. A variety of mountain conquests, battles with hair-raising obstacles and pervading all the indomitable perseverance of the climbers make interesting and exciting reading.

Mountaineers write chiefly of their own feats but Paddy Sherman tells in his six stories the achievements of others. He relates tales of first ascents of Canada's major peaks. Never over dramatic, he also tells of several tragic accidents including the loss of the airliner on Mount Slesse in 1956 when 62 persons lost their lives. Day by day accounts of ascents can prove monotonous but this author has interwoven with his tales of courage, vivid descriptions of the awe inspiring grandeur of the scene, of the rocky spires and of the vast glaciers with their formidable seracs and crevasses.

Details of a more personal nature lend further interest to the stories. The clothing, footgear, sleeping equipment and food required at various altitudes and the effects of lack of oxygen on physical and mental ability are included. The range in time and space of the climbs described is interesting. The reader cannot fail to compare the use of packhorses, dog sleds, hastily constructed rafts, as on the first ascent of Mount Logan in 1925 with the modern radio equipment, rubber boats and motors, air drops and air lifts used on the 1958 ascent of Mount Fairweather. The difficulties and dangers despite material progress remain almost insuperable.

One of the finest achievements in the history of Canadian mountaineering is told in a manner to arouse the interest of mountaineer and layman alike. Included are tales of the pioneers who travelled hopefully but failed to arrive. They paved the way for Fritz Wiessner and William House who, in 1936, made the first ascent of Mount Waddington, the "Nightmare moulded in Rock".

The four maps and clear photographs add much to the reader's understanding of the area explored and the mountains conquered. The sub-titles such as "Ice Cliff and Earthquake" are very apt.

For all those who knew A. O. Wheeler, his son, Sir Oliver Wheeler, Major Gibson, Don Munday, Captain McCarthy, Colonel Foster and Elfreda Pigou or who know Mrs Munday, Eric Brooks, Henry Hall and the many other outstanding mountaineers mentioned, including Paddy Sherman himself, this book is of particular interest. For all those who enjoy true tales of adventure in high places, tales of hardship and endurance, tales of those whose motto is "To serve, to seek, to find and not to yield" this book is a must.

Miss Fleming who is a teacher in Winnipeg has for many years been a member of the Alpine Club of Canada and for ten years edited the "Canadian Alpine Journal".

NORTH AMERICAN CANOE COUNTRY

By Calvin Rutstrum. Macmillan, New York; Collier-Macmillan, Galt, Ont., 1965. 216 pages, drawings by Les Kouba.

Reviewed by N. E. Rodger

For those who wish to partake of the pleasures, romantic and otherwise, of wilderness canoeing, Calvin Rutstrum's book offers encouragement so to do. It also offers guidance on most of the basic questions. It is not a story of any particular travels by canoe, which is perhaps too bad. Nor does it bring to the reader many intimate touches of the wilderness and the beauties and wonders that it can

evoke. He does describe briefly three actual canoe trips by others, one into Labrador, one from New York to Nome, and one from Minneapolis to York Factory on Hudson Bay. His chapter on "Going Alone" leaves one with the feeling that the author relishes the pleasures of the wilderness, but believes others should experience them at first hand and not through his eyes and pen. Perhaps he is right.

His chapters on the kinds of canoes and their characteristics, and on selecting routes for canoe trips are interesting and practical, as also are the final chapters on outfitting, equipment, food and clothing. Aspiring canoe travellers should not be discouraged by the intricacies which he introduces into the handling of a paddle or the finding of the way along a river or across a lake. These activities are quite simple once a start is made; though even reasonably experienced and intelligent travellers have been known to take a wrong turning in a small river and have a silent lunch at the place from which they departed after breakfast several hours earlier.

The suggestions offered for running down wind in heavy waves by using the cooking pail as a sea anchor, bailing with cupped hands, and upsetting the canoe to slow it down on arriving at the far shore might heighten the adventure of a canoe trip, but would also heighten the odds against its safe or comfortable completion.

The book points up some of the changes in the North and in canoe travel during the author's lifetime; the easy accessibility by aircraft to any part of the wilderness; the use of aluminum instead of wood and canvas canoes (and he describes well the pros and cons of each); the ubiquitous outboard motor which is whining its way all too quickly into the previously peaceful wilderness areas; and, of course, the replacement of flour and navy beans with many varieties of dehydrated and instant foods—and even instant fires. His loyalty to the tump-line for load carrying, to moccasins and rubbers as footwear, and to throwing up the whole canoe from the knee instead of turning and raising it on one end are in interesting contrast to his desire for a radio, a sextant and Nautical Almanac, and a gasoline lantern on his canoe trips.

Mr Rutstrum is to be commended for attempting to interest more North Americans in the wonderful recreational possibilities at our doorstep or at a nearby highway or railway bridge.

The sketch illustrations by Les Kouba add interest to the book.

General Rodger is one of a small group who over the years have paddled and portaged along many of the voyageurs' routes of the early fur trade.

NO MAN STANDS ALONE

By Amy V. Wilson. Gray's Publishing Ltd., Sidney, B.C. 1965. 138 pages. $3.60

One puts down Nurse Wilson's book with the feeling that here is a person one would like to know better. But even knowing her through the pages of her book is an experience not to be missed.

Without stressing the personal aspect and without being sentimental—a luxury a nurse cannot afford—Miss Wilson reveals herself as warm-hearted, practical, self-reliant, and deeply interested in her patients, most of whom are Indians living in conditions of great hardship. This is not a continuous narrative but reminiscences of some of the work and problems, and the rewards, that fall to the lot of an Alaska Highway Nurse in whose care are some three thousand Indians scattered over 200,000 square miles of northern British Columbia and the Yukon. Nursing is only one facet of such a career for there is arduous travelling, on horseback or snowshoes, in aircraft or alone by car, besides the problems of first aid, diagnosis, and treatment, often far from physician or hospital.

Nurse Wilson sketches in her background briefly: hospital work, district nurse in northern Alberta, and childhood on a farm near a small town in Alberta where her widower father raised seven children with love and understanding. Evident through her story is the principle instilled in his children by this father whose family though "poor in material things" were "rich in the things that really mattered"—discipline and a feeling of responsibility to one another and to the community.

Written with simplicity, in a smooth and unaffected style, these recollections cannot fail to hold the attention and sympathy of any reader interested in his fellow man. The book deserves a better binding; the soft cover does not stand up to handling and the cover is deplorable. On the good side, let it be said that there is an attractive map and chapter headings by Annora Brown. But the book lay around for some time, looking like one of the less appealing religious tracts before being picked up to reveal a story well worth reading. *MB.*

MONTCALM AND WOLFE

By Francis Parkman. Ryerson Press, Toronto, 1964. 719 pages. $11.00.

Reviewed by Shirlee A. Smith

To those interested in North American history Parkman is a well-known name, and with Canada celebrating its first centennial next year, it is appropriate that this book should have been reprinted. The first edition was published in 1884 in two volumes. Esmond Wright, Professor of Modern History, University of Glasgow, has written a good analytical foreword to the new edition.

The title is misleading. The book is not a biography of Montcalm and Wolfe, but about the people and events leading up to the battle on the Plains of Abraham. Braddock, Shirley, Bigot, Pitt, Ticonderoga, Louisbourg, and Fort Frontenac are some of the 32 chapter headings.

Few historians can set the mood as powerfully as Parkman. His ear is attuned to 18th century Europe and Canada. His researches are thorough and his eye has missed few details. The description of Louisbourg on pp 394-395 could only have been written by a man who had walked over the ruins on a day when the sea was rough (which Parkman did):

"Stand on the mounds that were once the King's Bastion. The glistening sea spreads eastward three thousand miles, and its waves meet their first rebuff against this iron coast. Lighthouse Point is white with foam; jets of spray spout from the rocks of Goat Island; mist curls in clouds from the seething surf that lashes the crags of Black Point, and the sea boils like a cauldron among the reefs by the harbour's mouth; . . ."

The chapters dealing with Wolfe and Montcalm are skilfully done. With two such distinct characters, Parkman must have been partisan, yet there is little evidence of it. One finishes the book with a feeling of affection for the handsome scholarly Montcalm and the frail impetuous Wolfe.

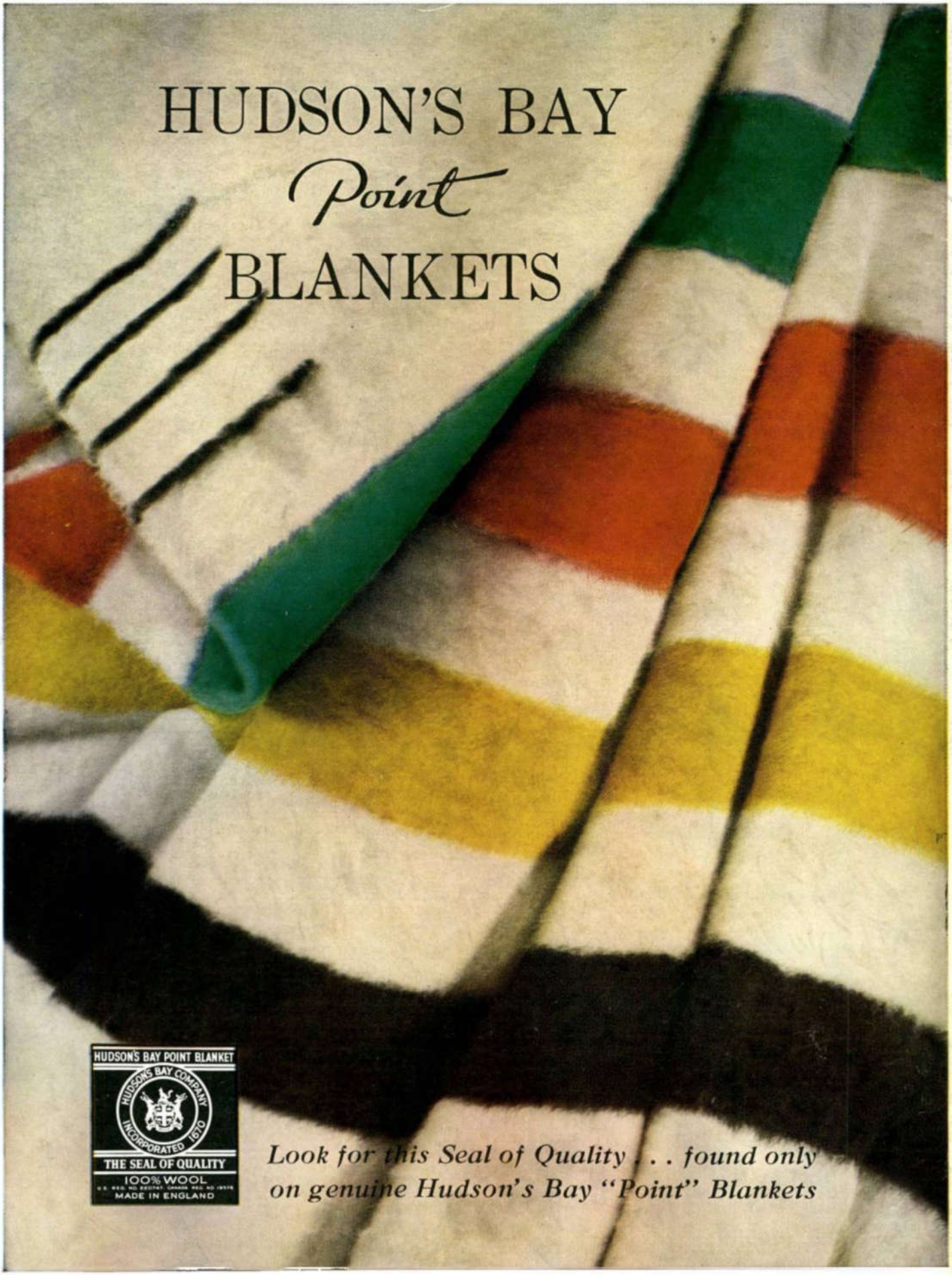
This is a well-researched, well-written book on an exciting period in Canada's history. I recommend it.

Mrs Smith is librarian for the Hudson's Bay Company.

SHOOTING THE RAPIDS

The excitement of plunging through white water is caught in this oil painting by Frances Anne Hopkins. This huge Montreal canoe or *canot de maître* of the fur trade carries a crew of sixteen voyageurs and four passengers, two men and two women, seated amidships. Such birch-bark canoes, thirty-five to forty feet long, were used on the Ottawa River and the Great Lakes to transport supplies and furs. Mrs Hopkins was in Canada from 1858 to 1870 with her husband Edward M. Hopkins who was secretary to the Hudson's Bay Company Governor Sir George Simpson. The Hopkinses lived at Lachine but Frances accompanied her husband on several journeys inland by the old canoe routes. She was the granddaughter of the English Court portrait painter Sir William Beechey. Her paintings were frequently exhibited in the Royal Academy.

Through the courtesy of the Public Archives of Canada this painting has been reproduced in full colour by the Minnesota Historical Society. Prints ready for framing, approximately 35 inches by 23 inches including mat, may be purchased for $5.65 (Canadian cheque or money order, mailing included) from the Minnesota Historical Society whose address is 690 Cedar Street, St. Paul, Minnesota 55101.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